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PAPERS ON BOOKS

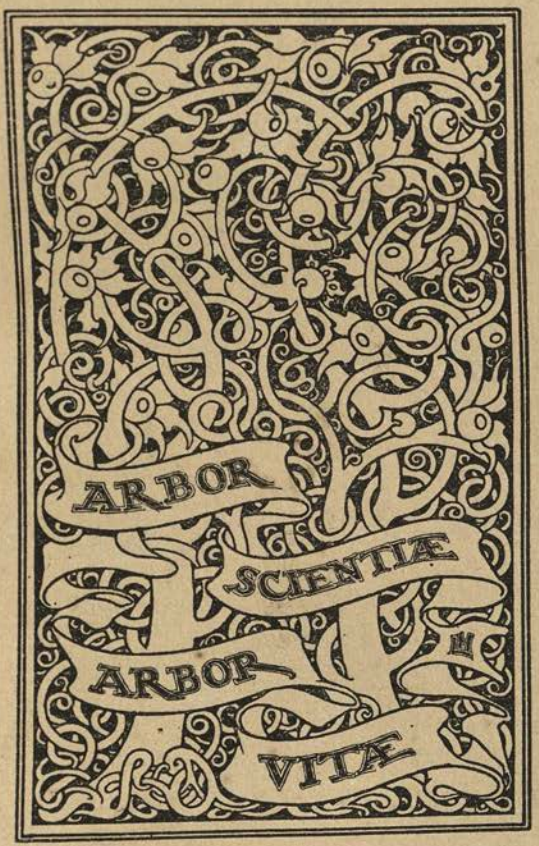
THEIR HISTORY AND ART

VOL. III

PARTS IX–XII

BIBLIO-GRAPHICA

VOLUME III



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BIBLIOGRAPHICA

JAPANESE ILLUSTRATED BOOKS

AS in the case of all literary and artistic accomplishments—until within the last few years—the art of wood-engraving was introduced into Japan from China, but unhappily history leaves us in the dark as to the date and facts of the introduction. We know that printing was practised in the Buddhist temples of Japan in the eighth century, and that a long period of time separated these first efforts from the time when books were printed as complete works. In the King's Library at the British Museum three strips of eighth century printing are shown, each containing a Buddhist prayer, while the earliest printed book that we know of is dated about four centuries later. In the same way it is probable that the engravings of the twelfth century had their prototypes at a much earlier period. It is commonly said that an engraved block representing the god Daikoku, which exists at the present day at Kauya San, in the province of Kishiu, has a very ancient origin, and if doubts have been thrown on the authenticity of this work, nothing can be said to impugn the genuineness of a block representing

Amitābha descending from heaven, which is to be seen at the monastery of Rai-Kan-Shi, on Lake Biwa, and which is dated 1017. But specimens of this period are very rare, and we know of no other instance of wood-engraving until nearly two centuries later, when the priest Nichiren, the founder of the Lotus-Law sect of Buddhists, engraved on wood a representation of the god Indra. In a work entitled *Adzuma Kagami* mention is also made of woodcuts of the goddess Kwannon which are dated 1186. But whatever doubts there may be as to the dates of the earliest specimens of the art in Japan, there can be no question that the skill of the artists was inspired by religious fervour. In that country, as in China, the objects represented by the earliest engravers were all religious, and when the engravers turned from the production of single prints to the decoration of books, the first works thus illustrated were those dealing with the sacred law of Buddha. In their original form these earliest of Japanese illustrated books have all perished, no doubt from the too eager diligence with which they were used. Later editions, however, survive, in which the old pictures appear to have been retained, and one of the earliest of these, an edition of the *Butsuzō dzui* or portraits of Buddhas, dated 1690, is a good specimen of this branch of the art. It contains illustrations representing the endless manifestations of Buddha, and though these bear the impress of their Indian origin, and of Chinese influence, they yet possess distinct characteristics of their own. The square stolid features which we are accustomed to see in drawings of Chinese Buddhas are lighted up under the hands of Japanese artists with intelligence and character. Each figure is accompanied by the attributes belonging to the

particular manifestation, and this variety has enabled the artist to endow the works of his pencil with marked individuality. It is a trite observation that Buddhist deities bear occasionally a strong resemblance to Christian figures. The ordinary representation of the goddess Kwannon carrying an infant in her arms is curiously suggestive of the conventional figures of the Madonna and child, and

FIG. 1.—FROM AN EDITION OF THE *BUTSUZŌ DZUI*, 1690

in the work above mentioned there is an engraving of a certain Buddha which might well be mistaken for a John the Baptist. Most of the prints are admirably executed, and there is a recumbent figure of Buddha entering Nirvana, in which the repose of the saint at the moment of his apotheosis is well expressed (fig. 1). With a certain incongruity Taouist saints and Confucian sages are admitted

into the pages of the *Butsuzō dzui*, while holy natives dressed in the quaint style which, if we are to believe the early pictures, was fashionable in medieval Japan, are added to the religious aristocracy.

Another work of about the same date, the *Zenkoji Niorai*, deals with much the same kind of subject in the form of a narrative, and shows us scenes at the Mikado court as well as the doings of gods and goddesses. The Goddess of Mercy is here represented as saving a repentant drowning person, while a hardened sinner sinks head downwards to the bottom. Buddha appears to a student-priest and pours out words of wisdom to groups of disciples beneath the shade of forest trees. An impious magistrate, desirous of checking the spread of Buddhist doctrines, throws an image of the god into the fire which is as powerless to injure it as was the burning fiery furnace to singe the coats of the Three Children; while on another occasion, as if a repetition of the miracle were not to be expected, men are shown risking their lives to save images from the shrines of a burning temple.

Though these particular works represent the earliest phase of wood-engraving, they are later by nearly a century than the *Ise Monogatari*, a story of the love-adventures of a certain noble (fig. 2), which, so far as we know, was the first historical work to which woodcuts were added. The first edition was published in 1608, and the second two years later. The figures in this work are dressed and habited in the conventional style of old Japan. The men wear shapeless hats, which appear to have little or no relation with the heads of the wearers. Their robes are voluminous, entirely obliterating all trace of the human figure, and standing out in angular

FIG. 2.—FROM THE *ISE MONOGATARI*, 1608

stiffness. The features are of a long type, and the artist has failed to express the human eye by anything more than a straight line. The ladies are even more disfigured. Their hair is made to hang straight

and stiffly down their backs, while their dresses make it difficult to imagine the attitudes of the wearers. It is noticeable, however, that though the human figure is much distorted, birds and fish are represented with great fidelity. A hawk sitting on the hero's hand reminds one of Hokusai's skill, and flowers are drawn in all their natural beauty.

Another work of the early seventeenth century, the *Genji Monogatari*, is marked by the same characteristics, and the illustrations help us to understand the history of the amorous adventures of Hikaru Genji, the son of the Mikado's favourite wife, which the text details. Numerous artists have drawn illustrations depicting the scenes of the novel, and show us the hero serenading ladies and peeping at them through lattice walls. In books of this kind the perspective is eminently faulty, and the artists are even driven to the awkward expedient of abolishing the roof in order to represent an interior. In these and other matters little skill was shown in the engravings of this period. It is obvious that wood-engraving was not a popular art, and that those who practised it lacked the imagination necessary to emancipate them from the very conventional pictorial style of their ancestors. It was impossible, however, that a people so naturally artistic as the Japanese should long remain subject to these trammels. Already artists such as Kanaoka, Sesshiu, and others had adopted a freer and more natural style of painting which they borrowed from China. The Chinese T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) was fruitful in the production of brilliant artists, as well as of poets, and it was following on the lines set by these men that Kanaoka and his followers worked and

painted. Discarding all the old traditional forms and ideas they painted nature as it exists, and portrayed for the benefit of their countrymen the beautiful scenery, the gorgeous colouring, and the variety of natural life of the Japanese islands. It is stated that Sesshiu, when a boy, was consecrated by his father for the priestly office, and was placed in a temple to learn his spiritual duties. His instincts, however, were artistic rather than religious; and so profound was his skill that on one occasion, when tied to a pillar for some boyish misdemeanour, he drew with his toes in the dust a number of rats with such life-like fidelity that the prior, mistaking them for living animals, attempted to drive them away. This and other specimens of his genius proved to his instructors that he was destined for the studio rather than the cloister, and at a later period his artistic instincts were confirmed and strengthened by a visit to China, where he learned to imitate the style and skill of the Chinese artists of the day. It was the works of such men that the Japanese wood-engravers of a succeeding generation loved to imitate, and in a series of albums and illustrated works of the eighteenth century we find relief from the stilted style of the illustrators of the earlier *Monogatari*.

An artist of this school (early eighteenth century), whose works have always been popular in Japan, is Tachibana Morikuni, and in the library at the British Museum stand many volumes illustrated by his graceful pencil. A marked Chinese influence runs through all his work, and in some there may still be traced recollections of the manner of his predecessors. He still maintained the old-fashioned habit of introducing clouds across his pictures, with what object it is difficult to see, and many of both

his men and women show all the mannerisms of a past age. But in most of his pictures we recognise a distinct and welcome advance. The landscapes recall the well-known features of the country. The temples, with their heavy roofs and upturned corners, their balustrades and their shady courtyards, all bear the imprint of actuality, and his birds, more especially his cranes, are admirable specimens of his art. In one snow scene he excels himself. A weight of snow hangs on the roof of a house, and the neighbouring trees, beneath which a traveller approaches, protected from the storm by an umbrella held over him by an attendant. The whole scene is strikingly wintry, and makes one shudder for a student who sits at an open window of the dwelling deep in the study of the Chinese Classics. Another excellent illustration (Plate ii.) carries us back to China, and depicts a scholar, dressed after the Confucian fashion, sitting under just such a weeping-willow as Chinese artists love to paint, and attracting by his tuneful guitar a flight of wild duck who are approaching in their usual wedge-like formation. Like all Japanese artists Tachibana Morikuni fails in his representations of horses and deer, and in this respect shows how intimate is the connection between Chinese and Japanese art, of which he is a typical representative. In these and other engravings the *Fuso Gwafu*, the work to which we have been referring, affords an interesting illustration of the first step taken from the old manner in the direction of the present style.

Another artist of about this period is Nishigawa Sukenobu, and, like Tachibana, his illustrations show that he has not succeeded in discarding entirely the older methods, although he unquestionably

represents men, women, and children in a more natural guise than his contemporaries painted them. In a well-known work he gives a series of illustrations representing children's games and employments. The figures are natural and lifelike, and the pictures are full of action. We see boys and girls playing battledore and shuttlecock, catching frogs with hook and line, playing infantine music, and following the ordinary amusements which delight children all over the world (fig. 3). It is the choice of scenes of this kind which distinguishes the works of artists of the Chinese and Sesshiu schools from those who had gone before them. The stilted artificial style was dead and gone, and the painters giving play to their imaginations sketched historical, legendary, and social subjects, into which they imparted at times breezy bits of fun and humour. Suzuki Haronobu, who lived in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was distinguished for the fidelity with which he drew from life. His girls are charming creations, although, like all Japanese artists, he makes no attempt to represent their features as they really are. Their lithe and graceful figures, however, and their joyous manner are well depicted. In one work illustrated by him there are some charming domestic scenes. In one of these a young wife sits at her cottage door enjoying the beauty of the scene before her, while in the adjoining room her husband, who is evidently a scholar, pores over a book, oblivious alike of his very pretty wife and of the joyousness of the landscape. In another picture, from which we give a single figure (fig. 4), a party of girls are striving to keep on their hats, and to preserve the protection of their kimonos in a storm of wind. Their attitudes as they resist the gale are perfect, and in

looking at the picture one can almost feel the rush of wind which is so rudely attacking them. In

FIG. 3.—FROM THE *HIGASHI WARABE*, 1767

another engraving a party of children, alarmed at the appearance at his door of an enraged house-

holder, on whom they have evidently played some childish trick, are shown falling over one another

FIG. 4.—FROM THE *YEHON KO KINRAN*, 1756

in their haste to escape, in so life-like manner as to remind us of the sketches of Hokusai.

To these schools succeeded another known as the Kano school, from the name of the founder, who set the example of going directly to nature for his subjects, more especially in the painting of birds, beasts, and fishes. A prolific follower of this artist was one Mokio Ken, who possessed a rare faculty for painting birds either at rest or on the wing. An interesting engraving from his pencil is shown at the British Museum, and represents a flock of magpies enjoying themselves in every conceivable attitude. Perched on trees, flying through the air, fighting fiercely, or bathing in a pool beneath the grove, they all seem to live and move with such natural action that it would be impossible to improve upon them. In another engraving the artist is not so fortunate. His subjects are horses, and, as has been remarked, no Japanese artist, except perhaps Hokusai, has ever succeeded in painting horses. With his monkeys, on the contrary, he was very successful, and curiously enough the species which he loved to draw was the long-armed monkey, a kind which has never been native to the islands of Japan. Tanyu, another noted follower of Kano, devoted himself to painting water-birds, and his wild geese and ducks are excellent specimens of the art. Whether feeding among the reeds by the riverside, or swimming on the tide, or flying to their winter quarters, they are always alive and are of themselves sufficient to establish his renown as an artist.

The publication of the earliest illustrated works proved so marked a success in the popular estimation that it soon became a habit to illustrate all works of such kinds as lent themselves to the painter's skill; and the advantage of representing to the eye the scenes which were described in topo-

にほんばし
日本橋
うおいち
魚市

graphical works was so obvious that it was not long before the practice of adding engravings to such books became habitual. A good specimen of a modern work of this kind is the *Yedo Meisho Dzuye*, illustrated by Hasegawa Settan. This work describes the celebrated scenes and sights of Yedo, or as it is now called Tōkiō. All who are fortunate enough to have visited this beautiful city and its neighbourhood will be able to imagine the excellent purpose to which the artist has turned the lovely landscape and surroundings. The groves of trees by the rivers' banks, the hills and valleys, the gardens and temples are all vividly brought to the eye by Hasegawa's pencil. In the street-scenes and life of the people he is equally happy, and by virtue of his skilful touch we are able to mix with the crowd, to take part in the annual festivals as their followers parade the streets, to join the stream of women who pour into the Buddhists' temples on days specially consecrated to the wants of women, to visit the busy wharfs and watch the boatmen guiding their boats through the intricacies of the stream, laden with produce or with laughing happy passengers (Plate iii.), and, if on further pleasure bent, to witness theatrical performances and see the actors tearing their passions to tatters on the boards. What Hasegawa did for Yedo other artists have done for the classic spots of the favoured land of Japan. The celebrated temples at Nikko, the beautiful surroundings of Osaka, and the Imperial grandeur of Kioto, are all illustrated in the works devoted to them.

We have seen that the earliest book-illustrations were those which appeared in the novel, the *Ise Monogatari.* Following the example thus set, the publishers of later novels called in the services of

artists and of wood-engravers. As in the Chinese novel, it was at one time the practice to preface the work by a series of illustrations. In the Chinese romances none others were added in the body of the works. To this canon the Japanese have never yielded obedience, but have added pictures in the texts to lend an interest to their pages. In the novels of the end of last century and the beginning of this, the scenes described are very effectively rendered by these means. Love and war are the two themes common to novelists of every land, and in Japanese novels they assume the most energetic developments. Single combats, clan fights, stealthy murders, and the avenging blow, are all there in abundance, while in most of the illustrations the motive of the violence and the crimes is represented by some bewitching maiden who hides her face to avoid the sight of the consequences of her manœuvres. A well-known novelist, Ritsujutei Kiran, dealt largely in such scenes, and so fully illustrated are his pages that without the aid of the text we can read the adventures of his heroes and heroines. We can see the beginning of the flirtation which calls down the vengeance of the outraged wife, and we can follow the villain through his plots and intrigues until at last he meets the due reward of his crimes.

Another novel by this same author has for its frontispiece a spirited representation of the Japanese version of St. George and the Dragon, in which a gallant knight is liberating a fascinating maiden from the claws and embraces of a most fearsome monster (fig. 5). No such deliverer comes to save a traveller in another part of the work from the murderous weapon of a highwayman, whose villainous deed is witnessed by a peasant with a half-averted gaze.

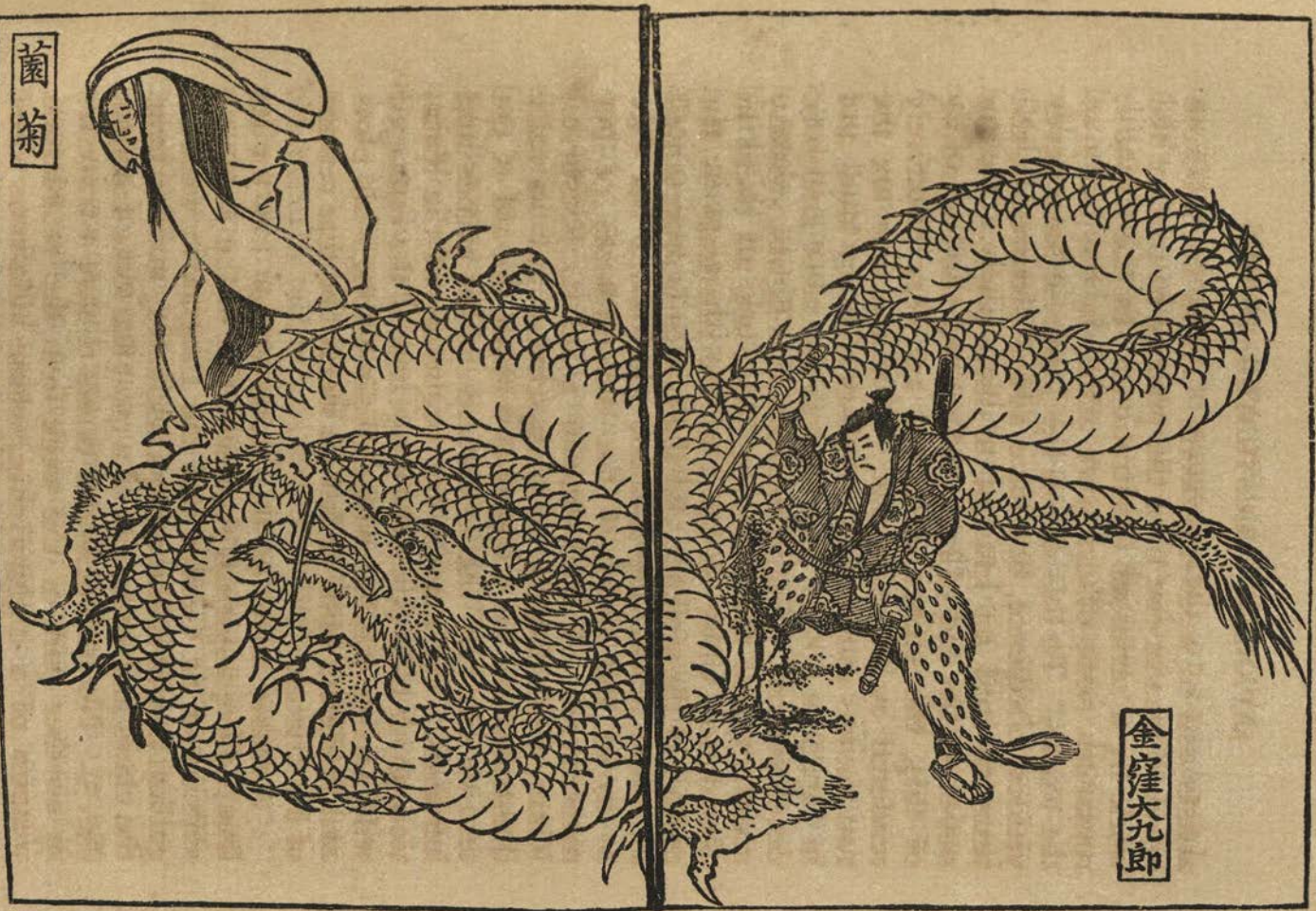


FIG. 5.—FROM THE *YEHON KIJŌ DEN*, 1817

In contrast to these scenes of violence there are a number of charming domestic pictures, which are all the more delightful from their thoroughly peaceful character. In one a maid is represented tiring her mistress's hair as she kneels on the ground before a mirror. The attitudes of both mistress and maid are admirable in their grace and naturalness, while their surroundings are full of the beauty belonging to Japanese pretty things. A scene in a tea-house makes another pleasing picture. The guests are seated on the ground preparatory to dinner, while the geishas bring in trays of viands, held high above their heads in token of deference and respect. In some works of this kind the backgrounds are coloured with a plain tint which throws out into relief the figures and objects depicted. This plan is very effective, more especially in pictures where the artist represents supernatural and shadowy appearances. In one such a man, with terror marked on his countenance, is pointing out to a friend the apparition of a god in the sky. In tragic scenes it is also very telling, and one striking picture, in which a man holds up a paper on which appears a long list of charges against the woman who lies crouching at his feet, gains much of its force from this system.

In the commoner novels, as in the *Muromachi Genji Kocho* (fig. 6), the illustrations are very often set into the text and sometimes are not always easily distinguishable from it. To save space the editors continue the text over any unfilled part of the illustration. A man coming out of a door steps on to a line of print, and the space in the doorway contains a continuation of the passage. To the more important scenes, however, whole pages are devoted, and though, as a rule, the en-

FIG. 6.—FROM THE *MUROMACH. GENJI KOCHO*, 1868

graver's art is not of a very high order, the illustrations bear the unmistakable stamp of the native art.

The Japanese have a talent for subdividing, and they commonly enumerate a vast number of schools, among which they apportion the army of painters who have made their country famous. The artists, of whose works we have just been speaking, might be said to belong indifferently to the Naturalistic and Popular schools, and may be reckoned as rebels against the old-fashioned and conventional style of painting. Some admirable specimens of both these schools are exhibited in the British Museum. A monochromatic engraving of two rabbits by moonlight is a curious and striking specimen of the work of an artist of the naturalistic fraternity. The rabbits are seated on the ground, and are just visible through the mist which dims the light of the moon.

Turning now to the Popular school, it is noticeable how the artists have a marked tendency to reproduce over and over again certain scenes which are either familiar pieces of popular folk-lore or of superstitious legend. One such, which is a great favourite, is the theft of a fish, or cake, by a hawk, which flies off with his prize, followed by the infuriated owner, who strives to recover the dinner which he sees vanishing in the distance (fig. 7). Hanabusa Itchō has drawn for the engraver an admirable sketch of this incident, while Hokusai and a host of others have given expression to their ideas of the circumstance. Another subject which has proved very attractive to the artists of all schools is the legend of Tekkai, a Taouist Rishi, who possessed the inestimable advantage of being able to project his inner self whither he would. 'On one occasion he dismissed this mysterious essence to the mountains of the

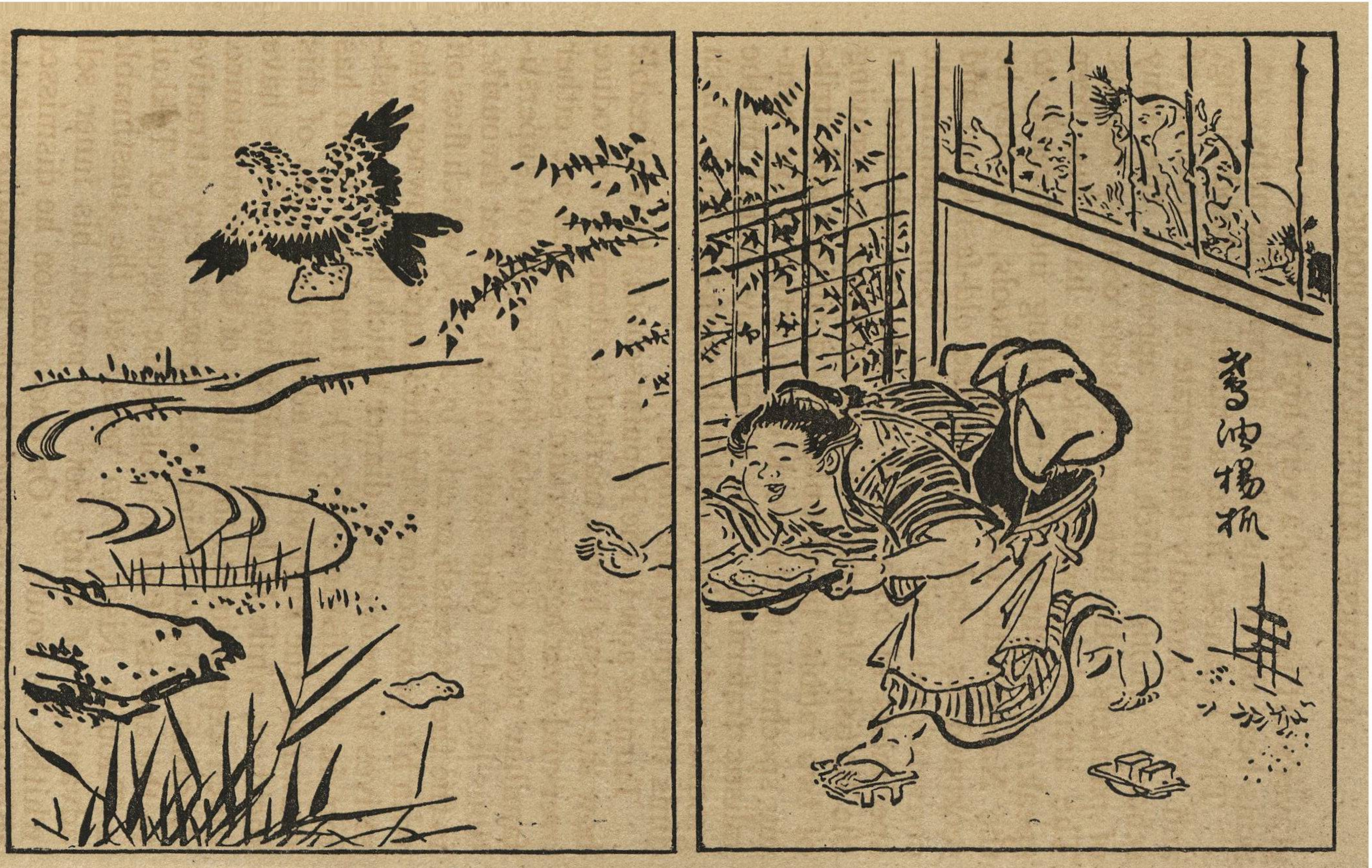


FIG. 7.—FROM THE *YAMATO SŌGWA*

immortal gods, having previously arranged that a friend should watch over his body during the seven days that it was bereft of its spiritual part. Unfortunately, in this interval, the watcher received news that his mother was seriously ill, and as the claims of filial piety plainly superseded the obligation due to Tekkai, he at once went home, taking with him the body of the Rishi. On the seventh day the spiritual essence returned to earth, and not finding its accustomed habitation on the spot where it had shaken it off, was compelled to take refuge in the dead body of a starved toad. In several of the prints Tekkai's inner self is represented as riding off on a horse which has been projected from the gourd of Chung Ko-laou, a fellow Taouist Rishi'; in the accompanying illustration (fig. 8), however, he appears on foot. According to another version of the legend, which has been freely adopted by artists, the returned essence found a new home in the corpse of a starved beggar.

Such popular tales are fertile in supplying subjects for pictures, and one that has attracted the pencils of many artists is that of a cooking-pot possessed by a certain priest, which had the awkward peculiarity of converting itself, often at the most inconvenient moments, into a badger. In one of the prints under discussion this transformation is very cleverly rendered. Another drawing of the same kind depicts a current belief that an elephant may be led by a single hair of a beautiful woman, an idea which is akin to that expressed by Pope in the lines:

> 'Fair tresses man's imperial race insnare
> And beauty draws us with a single hair.'

In this instance the leer of the elephant, as

FIG. 8.—SINGLE PRINT OF *TEKKAI*, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

he follows, a willing victim in the thraldom of beauty, is exceedingly humorous.

In estimating the skill of Japanese artists it should be remembered that their materials are brushes and Indian ink, and that, therefore, when a line is once drawn, *vestigia nulla retrorsum.* To us, accustomed to lead-pencils and india-rubber, it appears little short of marvellous that the painters of Japan can draw with the precision and certainty which we have learned to expect of them. A notable instance of clever line-drawing is exhibited in the King's Library, in which a lady reclines on a couch, while a man, presumably her husband, sits by, drinking a cup of tea. The drawing is exquisite, and, without the least sign of faltering, the artist has expressed in decided lines the scene he wishes to represent. An ingenious artist, famous for his skilful handling of his brush, published, some years ago, an album of sketches drawn by a single stroke of his pencil. By this method he shows us, among other sketches, a woman stooping over a basin washing her hair. The attitude is perfect, though the drawing may not be quite correct; but, when it is remembered that the sketch was made with one continual sweep of the brush, it must be admitted to be a remarkable *tour de force.* A cat on the opposite page, though not so complicated a subject, is still very skilfully represented.

Of all the men who have contributed to the success of modern wood-engraving Hokusai is unquestionably the greatest. This man was born in 1760 and was the adopted son of a maker of mirrors. Although when young he was a student of art, it was not until he was past middle age that he acquired fame. He first exercised his talent in

designing New Year's cards, and in illustrating cheap novels. By degrees these brought him into notice and, when in 1812 he published his *Mangwa*, his fame was established. It is the fashion of some admirers of Japanese art to speak slightingly of Hokusai's power as a draughtsman, but it is beyond question that for variety of subjects, boldness of execution, and skill in arrangement he has no equal. His *Mangwa* is an epitome of Japanese life. From the Mikado down to the peasant we find the employments, pleasures, trades, and arts fully represented. Every page is replete with life in its serious as well as its humorous side. Nothing seemed to be beyond his skill. We see groups of figures standing at the corners of streets or lying at their ease on the ground; we see children at play, acrobats performing feats which orientals alone can accomplish; stout wrestlers stripped for the fray; priests in not always the most priestly company; graceful maidens; artisans at work; fishermen landing their prey; massageurs pounding and even trampling on the backs of their patients; gaily-dressed geishas with bedizened hair-pins, and a host of others who walk on the fascinating soil of Japan; while, from the land beyond the grave, blood-curdling ghosts and supernatural apparitions appear to frighten the denizens of the earth. Animals are sketched in the same profuse style, and Hokusai's horses, unlike those of his confrères, are made of real flesh and blood. Monkeys hanging from branches of trees; insects creeping on all kinds of vegetation, and toads crawling in every attitude live in his pages In one instance a very comical effect is produced by a sketch of a number of small Japanese washing a huge white elephant, which evidently enjoys

their ministrations. Hokusai's power of drawing rats was especially remarkable, and to each he succeeded in giving marked individual expression in a marvellous manner. In his *Mangwa* is one well-known sketch of a number of rats at work in a store-house in ratland. Several coolie rats are carrying cases of goods from a ship into the warehouse, while a clerk ticks off each packet as it passes the door. An accoùntant is busy with his abacus making his calculations as to the sums due, while the head of the firm is deeply engaged in reckoning up his ledger. Half-a-dozen workmen are pulling on shore with a net certain packages which have fallen overboard from the ship, and the attitudes of the rats as they tug at the rope in their efforts to land the treasure-trove are full of life and reality. Though Hokusai was eminently a modern artist, he yet at times painted pictures in the old style as if to show the versatility of his genius. No Japanese artist has ever been so prolific as he, and no one has gained so great a hold on the people in the long course of Japanese art.

A great friend of Hokusai was Bokusen, who was himself a no mean artist, and it was at his house that the plan of the *Mangwa* was sketched out. It is difficult to understand how Bokusen, having the example of Hokusai before his eyes, could have adopted the style which he made his own. Instead of drawing popular objects in the natural manner he adopted a violently grotesque style, which may have a certain humour in it, but which by no possibility can be called beautiful. The men and women are caricatured almost out of human likeness, their features are distorted, their figures are misshaped, and their attitudes are well-nigh im-

possible. But it is as difficult to legislate for other peoples' tastes as it is for their wants, and it is beyond question that Bokusen found a ready market for his wares. Oishi Matora was another artist who indulged in the same peculiarity, and although there was undoubtedly vigour in the works of both men, it is difficult to admire their productions.

It must be admitted that, as a rule, Japanese artists have been fortunate in the engravers who have made their names immortal. The artistic taste of the people, their skilful manipulation, and their infinite painstaking rendered the task of the reproduction of paintings at once a labour of love and a triumph of skill. Instead of the uncompromising and unsympathetic roller with which ink and colour are applied to wooden blocks among ourselves, the Japanese engraver lays on the pigments with a brush, and is thus enabled to graduate the blackness of the ink and the tones of the colours. A very remarkable example of successful engraving is exhibited in the King's Library and represents a duck swimming on a pool, by Bunyosai. The shades of ink are laid on with such rare skill that it is almost possible to believe it to be the original work of Bunyosai. No hard outlines mar the effect, and the neck has all the appearance of having been painted by a broad sweep of the brush. In coloured engravings this skill and method are of an immense advantage. The earliest polychromatic prints were produced, it is said, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the new art was applied to portraying popular actors. The portrait of one such, Ichikawa Danjiurō, was, at about the time mentioned, sold in the streets of Yedo for five cash a copy. The practice soon became popular, and,

looking back on the results, we are obliged to say of this, as of so many things in the East, that the old are better. The earlier engravers took a delight and pleasure in producing the monochrome pictures of the celebrated artists, and this they did with a softness and delicacy which gave to their works exceptional beauty. One of the foremost of these engravers was Suzuki Harunobu, whose impressions have all the beauty of original paintings, and whose refined tone must always commend his prints in the eyes of connoisseurs. Another man of much the same calibre was Tachibana no Binko (1784), of whose skill the British Museum possesses several specimens. In the frontispiece to this article (Plate i.) there may be seen an excellent example of his work. The print represents a mirror polisher engaged in his trade. The colouring is subdued and harmonious, and the energy with which the artisan is perfecting the mirror is admirably rendered. A number of Hokusai's drawings have been reproduced in colours and, speaking generally, with marked success. In the King's Library there are exhibited two of his works which are among his most notable masterpieces. One (Plate iv.) is a rain-scene in which, through the damp mist of a wet day, Fujiyama can be discerned in the distance, while pedestrians, protecting themselves as best they may from the downpour, pass dejectedly along in the foreground. The other (Plate v.) represents a mad woman, who, 'clad in tattered finery, and happy in the delusion that she is a brilliant ornament of the Imperial Court, parades the streets with mincing steps and affected gestures, apparently filling the part to her own entire satisfaction, as well as to that of the little urchins who are bearing an old straw

狂女
縁に
戯れ

sandal above her head as a mocking emblem of a royal canopy.'[1]

Another kind of coloured engraving is that which represents objects in strong broad colours—a method which in the hands of less skilful artists would inevitably become garish, but which, owing to the taste possessed by Japanese colourists, serves to produce an effective and harmonious whole. Hiroshige and Risshō were past masters in this branch of the art. Their flowers and birds, their landscapes and sky effects, are wonderful specimens of bright colours skilfully treated, and the bold contrasts by which, for example, they show white objects such as cranes and white falcons against the crimson setting sun, or full blossoms of the purple iris against a white background, are particularly striking and effective; while the river-scenes which they frequently painted are marvellous examples of their skill both as draughtsmen and colourists.

These men and those that worked like them used the colours which had been compounded with infinite care from native vegetable substances. But after them there arose a class who were impatient of the time required to prepare these pigments, and finding the aniline colours of commerce ready to their hand substituted them for the older paints. The result was disastrous. A series of tawdry garish albums were published which marked a decided and lamentable decadence in the art. A comparison of a new edition of Nagao Kagesuke's beautiful book of birds and flowers with one of the older editions furnishes a measure of the blight which foreign methods produced for the time in Japanese art. The adoption of European systems and ideas though admirable in principle

[1] Anderson's *Pictorial Art of Japan.*

has, it must be allowed, had the effect of leading artists astray in more directions than one. Their efforts to follow the rules of perspective and their imitation of European mannerisms would, if persevered in, do much towards destroying the spontaneity of the native art, and modern painters have occasionally carried their admiration for Western painting to such a length as actually to reproduce well-known English pictures in native guise. A curious instance of this occurs in a recent volume containing the representations of mythological subjects. In this work the artist has borrowed the figure, with all its surroundings, of Mr. Waterhouse's 'Circe' which appeared in the Royal Academy in 1892, and has attired the figure of the enchantress as an Indian deity. But these are eccentricities which cannot last among a people so naturally artistic as the Japanese, and, in a recent album by Taki Kwatei, all the refined delicacy of the older engravers appears in perfection.

ROBERT K. DOUGLAS.

THE EARLY ITALIAN BOOK-TRADE

THERE are few inquiries more interesting than one into the character and tendencies of an epoch, as ascertained by their reflection in its literature. Such an investigation, if referring to modern times and extended beyond a single country, must generally be incomplete on account of the great mass of the materials, which defies any exhibition of the literary tendencies prevailing at any given period over the whole of Europe. In the first age of printing alone the number of books is not absolutely unmanageable, and their bibliographical interest has insured their accurate description in catalogues. It would not be beyond the power of industry to make a digest of the *incunabula* of the fifteenth century, so far as to show the number of books printed in each country, their respective subjects, the frequency of reprints, the ratio of the various classes to each other, the proportion of Latin to vernacular books, and other particulars of this nature by which the intellectual currents of the age might be mapped out.

The present essay is to be regarded as no more than a very imperfect indication of the feasibility of such an undertaking. Observations, sufficiently desultory, on the general character of the literature published in Italy, from the introduction of printing into the country to the end of the century, have suggested some remarks on the kind of books which the early Italian printers found it profitable to produce, and some inferences respecting the taste

of the day, and the classes which would be reached by the printing-press. To afford a really satisfactory groundwork for such an inquiry, all known publications should be enumerated (although the briefest titles would serve), and tabulated according to their subjects. Deductions regarding the intellectual aspects of the time might then be made with some confidence, and the apparently dry and unpromising groundwork would admit of rich illustration from the stores of contemporary literary history. Any such fulness of treatment is, of course, as incompatible with the space available in *Bibliographica* as with the time at the disposal of the writer. Enough, it is hoped, will have been done to show how interesting a detailed analysis of the subject might be made. The Roman and Venetian presses have been chiefly dwelt upon inasmuch as these two cities, the first in Italy to possess printing-presses, also served to test the opposite systems of reliance upon patronage in high quarters, or upon the free life of a busy and prosperous community. The result is instructive, and has been confirmed by every similar experiment in later times.

In examining the literature of the age, as represented by the contemporary productions of the press, we are particularly impressed by its utilitarian, and, as a corollary, its essentially popular character. We do not employ this latter term as indicative of a relation between the printers and the mass of the people, who at that period were generally unable to read, but between the printers and their limited public. In our times a considerable proportion of the current literature of the day is produced without any reference to the needs and tastes of the reading public. The author knows that he will not be read, but it nevertheless suits him to put his opinions,

his experiences, or his skill in composition upon record, for the gratification of his self-esteem it may be, or the expression of his emotions, or as a document for future reference, or as an act of duty, or for the pleasure of friends, or for any one or more of these and many other conceivable reasons. Were it not for the safety-valve afforded by the periodical press, the number of books thus existing for the author's individual sake would be very much more considerable. Hardly anything of this is to be observed in the early ages of publishing. Scarcely a book is to be found for which a public might not be reasonably expected, and which, therefore, would not be produced without the expectation of profit. We know that this expectation was not always realised from Sweynheym and Pannartz's petition to Pope Sixtus IV. that he would indemnify them by some public appointment for the loss of capital sunk in their unsold publications; but the books were such as promised to command a sale, and the reason of their failure was probably the competition of other Italian presses. They were principally classical authors or Fathers of the Church, and it may be that exigencies of Papal patronage led Sweynheym and his partner to produce more of the latter class than was prudent on strictly commercial grounds. If so, the case was quite exceptional, and does not invalidate the general proposition that the Italian printers of the Renaissance looked entirely, and in the main intelligently, to the needs of their public. It is thus easy to discover the character of this constituency, and to estimate its requirements.

For long after the invention of printing the books produced consist mainly of four classes—(1) Classical, (2) Grammatical, (3) Theological, (4)

Legal. The immense proportion of these in comparison with other subjects demonstrates that the great majority of readers belonged to the professional classes—teachers, or at least students at the universities, divines, and practitioners of civil or canon law. Had a leisured and cultured class existed as in our times, we should have seen more modern history and biography, more essays and facetiæ, more vernacular poetry and fiction—all departments very slenderly represented in the fifteenth century. Men evidently read for practical ends, and invested their money in the expectation of a substantial rather than an intellectual return. The class that now reads principally for amusement did not in that age read at all; but if it had, books could not then be produced at the cheap rate required to insure an extensive circulation. If such books are costly, they must at all events be solid, to give the purchaser an apparent return for his money: or the expense must be distributed over a wide area by the agency of circulating libraries, an institution which implies a numerous reading public. Hence, a fact honourable to Renaissance literature, it includes hardly anything that can be called trash. Copious in the number of its publications, it is disappointingly meagre in their themes; many branches of human activity hardly exist for it, but, at all events, almost every one of its publications was produced in response to a real need. Most of them have inevitably become obsolete, few have ever been, or will be, utterly valueless.

The drawback to the generally sterling character of the early Renaissance printing was want of enterprise on the part of the printers, who were also the publishers. At the present day culture is greatly promoted by the ambitious and competitive spirit

of publishers, who look far and wide for subjects likely to touch sympathetic chords in the breast of the public, are always ready to listen to new ideas, to which they frequently accord generous encouragement, compete among themselves for promising writers, and are continually devising new schemes to attract patronage by elegance, cheapness, artistic decoration, or the supply of some want which the public has not yet found out for itself. Very little of this is to be discovered in the fifteenth century. Publishers seldom cared to transgress the safe ordinary round of classics, divinity, and law. Occasionally there are symptoms of alertness to the events of the day: thus, as soon as Cardinal Rovere becomes Pope, his treatises on the Redemption and the perpetual virginity of Mary are printed at Rome; and when the Jews are accused of murdering a Christian boy, circumstantial accounts of the tragedy appear in different parts of Europe. But, notwithstanding the intellectual curiosity of the age, it would seem to have been a very unpromising one for the literary manifestation of original genius of any kind. Works of contemporary authors, other than of a purely utilitarian character, are very rare. One of the most remarkable exceptions is the publication at Naples in 1476 of the *Novellini* of Masuccio, a book whose scandalous character would be sure to obtain it readers. Towards the end of the century, works by living authors of eminence become more frequent, but even then they are most commonly those of men like Sanazzaro, influential in courts, and enjoying literary distinction long before they went to press. One of the press's most important functions, the encouragement of unknown ability, was hardly performed at all in that age, and the principal reason was that the printers,

though sometimes possessed of classical acquirements, were either too .exclusively commercial in their views or too limited in their resources to promote literary activity outside of the beaten track. Our own Caxton appears a model of intelligent adaptation to the tastes of his public, but he never finds an author, or exerts himself to give superior finish or elegance to a book. It cannot but be thought that if Italy had in the fifteenth possessed a publisher of enterprising spirit and ample means, a powerful impulse might have been imparted to Italian vernacular literature. Such a person, indeed, would have perceived that the public for such a literature, apart from its few classical examples, did not then exist, but he would have deemed that the multitude of intelligent men who could not read Latin would read Italian, if Italian were put before them. Instead of hiring editors he would have hired authors, and his enterprise might have been attended by momentous consequences.

Another token of the lack of a far-seeing speculative spirit is the extraordinary period which elapsed before an Italian printer ventured upon the publication of a Greek book. The interest in Greek literature must have been very general, but instructors were probably scarce, and few Italians had taken the trouble to learn it. The educational value of the language, apart from the contents of the books composed in it, was utterly unsurmised, and the reader was fully satisfied if he could obtain a faithful Latin translation, which in the majority of cases was not yet to be had. Had printed Greek texts been placed in the way of readers, a vast impulse would have been given to the study of the language, and a publisher of genius labouring to create the taste he did not find might have greatly

accelerated the course of European culture. Greek grammar, even, awaited the typographer until 1476, and Greek literature for some years longer. No originality was infused into the business of publishing until the advent of Aldus, almost as much the father of modern bookselling as Gutenberg is the father of printing.

Leaving the question of what the Renaissance printers and publishers of Italy might have done, we proceed to illustrate what they did by a brief analysis of the character of their productions during the first few years of their activity, especially in Rome and Venice. The survey is necessarily very imperfect, for a large proportion of their productions are not dated, and the exact year is usually a matter of conjecture. We must confine ourselves to the list of dated books given by Panzer, which might admit of considerable extension. It is not likely, however, that this would materially affect the mutual proportion of the various classes of literature, the point with which we are principally concerned.

Printing was established at Rome in 1467 by the removal of Sweynheym and Pannartz from Subiaco. Five books are recorded to have been printed there in that year; two classics (Cicero's *De Oratore* and *Epistolae ad Familiares*), two editions of the Fathers, and one grammatical work. In 1468 six more make their appearance, one classical, three patristic, one theological, and one medical. In 1469 commences the great run upon classical writers which continued for some years. Of the twelve books enumerated by Panzer as produced in this year all but one are classics, and the apparent exception is a defence of Plato by Cardinal Bessarion. All but one are printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, with prefaces by the

Bishop of Aleria as editor-general. This striking development of activity indicates the first organised attempt to monopolise a special department of the book-trade, which might possibly have succeeded if Rome had then, as now, been the capital of an united Italy. The other Italian cities, however, had no intention of being excluded from the practice of the new art; and the same year witnessed the introduction of typography into its true Italian metropolis, Venice, combined, however, with an audacious attempt to obtain a monopoly. Joannes de Spira, the first printer in Venice, not content with obtaining protection for his publications, claimed and obtained the sole right of printing books in the city for five years. Men had evidently as yet but little conception of the importance of the new art; but the death of the printer within the year released the Venetian State from the obligation it had so inconsiderately undertaken, and it was by this time sufficiently enlightened not to renew it in favour of his brother, Vindelinus, who, however, remained for some time among the most distinguished of Venetian printers.[1]

Before leaving the year 1469, we should mention the first Italian instance of a printed translation of a Greek classic, the Latin *Strabo*, published by Sweynheym and Pannartz without date, but which is known to have belonged to this year. In 1470 the run on classics continues, the same number as in the previous year being printed, mostly by Sweynheym and Pannartz, but a revival is ap-

[1] It seems to have been afterwards sought to imply that Spira's monopoly was intended only to protect his copyright in books actually published by him, but the language of the original document is clear. It may be remarked that, did not other arguments abundantly suffice, this transaction would prove the date 1461, in Nicolas Jenson's *Decor Puellarum*, to be a misprint, as if he had printed before 1469 he would have acquired a *locus standi* which could not have been ignored in Spira's favour.

parent in other branches of literature, the number of books in theology being nearly equal to that of the classics. Another translation from the Greek appears, that of *Plutarch's Lives*, rendered by various hands, with the preface of J. A. Campanus. The most remarkable production of the Roman press for this year, however, is a small tract, which affords the first example of recourse to printing by a Pope for an official purpose. It is the brief of Pope Paul II., enacting that the Jubilee shall henceforth be celebrated every twenty-fifth year, and consequently in 1475, which he did not live to see. This interesting document has been recently acquired by the British Museum. In 1471, as is most probable, another Government publication appeared, *The Civic Statutes of Rome*, as revised by Paul II., and the election of his successor, Sixtus, in the same year produced the first two examples of a class of official publications afterwards very frequent, the congratulatory harangues pronounced by ambassadors upon occasion of their tendering homage to the Pope.

Twelve classical publications grace the year, mostly from the press of Swenheym and Pannartz, as well as the first volume of their great edition of the *Biblical Commentary* of Nicolaus de Lyra. The remaining four volumes appeared in the year following, and the last was freighted with the memorable appeal to Pope Sixtus IV., composed by the Bishop of Aleria in the name of the printers, which throws so vivid a light on the vicissitudes of the book-trade in Rome. They have printed 12,475 sheets, *acervum ingentem*, for which it is marvellous that paper or types should have been found. Their spacious premises are choked with unbound sheets in quinions (*quinterniones*), but void of victual and

drink. Will the Pope give them some little office, by aid of which they may be able to provide for themselves and their families? Rome was manifestly no place for classical publishers, even under a Pope who did so much for the encouragement of learning as Sixtus. The forlorn estate of Sweynheym and Pannartz, contrasted, as we shall see, with the flourishing condition of the Venetian book-trade at the time, shows that even at a period when reading, to say nothing of the scholarship required to master the literature of the day, was not a general accomplishment, the bookseller's best patron was the public. Probably, however, the hardships of the firm may have been somewhat exaggerated by the eloquent pen of the Bishop of Aleria; for in this very year they appear as printing ten books, and in the following year seven. Two of them are new editions of works previously issued by them, showing not only that the original impression was sold out, but that it was thought profitable to undertake another.

In 1474 the names of the printers entirely disappear as partners. Sweynheym is known to have died before 1478 (when the *Ptolemy*, which he had begun to prepare for the press, was published by Arnold Buckingk), but at what particular time is uncertain. Pannartz comes forward by himself in December 1474, and in the following year occurs as the printer of eight books, chiefly classical. In 1476 he prints three, but his activity abruptly terminates in March, a period coinciding with a collapse in Roman publishing, best illustrated by a comparative table:—

1475	53 books	1478	15 books
1476	24 „	1479	11 „
1477	14 „	1480	9 „

No doubt many undated books were published in these years, and after 1480 some revival is apparent, but the quality of the publication is greatly lowered. Classics continue to be printed, but they retire into the background before books of canon and civil law, and the apparent number is greatly helped out by ephemeral pamphlets, such as Papal briefs and addresses on public occasions. The endeavour to render Rome an intellectual centre had manifestly failed, nor has she deserved this character at any subsequent period, except for the few years during which wits and scholars gathered around Leo x. Before leaving the subject, nevertheless, a tribute should be paid to the merits of Joannes Philippus de Lignamine, a native of Messina, apparently a man of good family, and not improbably the first native Italian to exercise the typographic art, in whose productions may be traced rudimentary ideas of a higher order than were vouchsafed to his mercantile contemporaries. It can hardly be by accident that the same man who in 1472 prints the first vernacular book that had appeared in Rome, should in the same year publish, although in Latin, the first biography of an Italian contemporary, his own memoir of his own sovereign Ferdinand of Naples; should in 1473 issue the vernacular poetry of Petrarch; and in 1474 a book of such national interest as the *Italia Illustrata* of Flavio Biondo. His publications are always of high quality, and it would be interesting to learn more respecting him. He is described as a member of the Pope's household, and was certainly something more than a professional printer.

The establishment of printing at Rome had naturally ensued upon the migration of the printers

from the small adjoining town of Subiaco, and the choice of the latter place as the cradle of Italian typography had probably been determined by the German nationality of the majority of the inmates of its celebrated monastery. The introduction of printing into Venice, two years after Rome, was probably less the effect of accident. Joannes de Spira, who, as we have seen, so promptly secured a monopoly of so much value as the exclusive exercise of printing for five years, must have been an enterprising and far-seeing man, to whom the opulence and comparative freedom of Venice would offer greater attractions than the doubtful patronage of an Italian despot. This view of his character is confirmed by the boldness of his first undertakings. Before obtaining any privilege he had produced two of the most voluminous works of antiquity then accessible: Pliny's *Natural History* and Cicero's *Epistolae ad Familiares*. The soundness of his judgment was evinced by the demand for a second edition of his Cicero within four months, an unusual occurrence in the history of early printing. *Tacitus* followed, and the German printer's patriotism is indicated by his description of the *Germania* as 'libellus aureus.' His brother and successor, Vindelinus, displays even greater energy, producing fifteen books within the year 1470, among them so important a work as Livy's history, and gaining especial honour as the first printer of Petrarch. The rest are almost entirely classical, and so are the few books printed in this year by his rival Nicolas Jenson, the most elegant of all the Italian printers. In 1471 Venetian printing takes a wider range; law-books increase; Jenson produces books of morals and of religious edification in the vernacular, Christopher Valdarfer publishes the *Decameron* of

Boccaccio. More important still is the appearance of two independent Italian translations of the Bible, one from the press of Vindelinus, one without name of printer. As no other Italian city emulated the example of Venice, an example frequently repeated by her before the close of the century, we are justified in assuming that in no other Italian city could such a thing be done. Interesting, too, is a vernacular translation of Cardinal Bessarion's exhortation to the Italian princes to take arms against the Turk, showing a public for productions of contemporary interest, outside the ranks of those who could read Latin. In the following year, 1472, printed editions of no fewer than six classical authors make their appearance at Venice, Cicero's *Tusculan Questions*; Catullus, with Tibullus and Propertius, and the *Silvae* of Statius; Ausonius, with a considerable appendix of minor poets; Macrobius's commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis*; and the authors *De Re Rustica*. Although some of the cities dependent upon Venice — Padua, Treviso, Verona—were beginning to have printing-presses, their typographers were not yet equal to such undertakings, and Venice must have been the head-quarters of production and distribution for her extensive and opulent territory, and probably for many of the neighbouring states. Her abundant capital and industry, liberal administration in non-political matters, and the confluence of strangers, must be reckoned among the principal causes of this activity, to which Mr. Horatio Brown adds another, the abundance and excellence of paper, which the Venetian senate had protected a century before, by prohibiting the export of rags from their dominions.

The extent and growth of the Venetian book-trade will appear by the following notice of the

number of works printed from 1469 to 1486, which would be considerably augmented if dates could be safely assigned to undated books:

1469	4 books	1478	64 books
1470	22 „	1479	16 „
1471	48 „	1480	71 „
1472	36 „	1481	79 „
1473	28 „	1482	74 „
1474	40 „	1483	104 „
1475	37 „	1484	66 „
1476	52 „	1485	84 „
1477	55 „	1486	71 „

By 1495 the number of publications has risen to 119, the general character of the books remaining much as before. The productions of the Venetian press from 1469 to 1500 occupy more space in Panzer's catalogue than those of Rome, Florence, Naples, Milan, Bologna, Brescia, Ferrara, Padua, Parma, and Treviso put together.

Space allows only a brief glance at the typographical productions of the five most important of the seven Italian cities which possessed printing-presses by 1471—Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Milan, and Naples. Bologna, as might be expected in a university city, especially produces erudite books, particularly in philosophy, mathematics, and medicine. Petrarch and Boccaccio, however, relieve the general aridity, and there is a fair sprinkling of classics. Ferrara's tastes lie much in the same direction, but it is remarkable for a school of Hebrew printing, and does itself honour by the *editio princeps* of Seneca's tragedies, and even more so by that of Boccaccio's *Teseide*, the first publication of an Italian epic poem, other than the *Divina Commedia*. Florence appears more tardy in developing the new art than might have been expected

under Medicean rule; and her early productions would seem comparatively unimportant but for Bettini's *Monte Sancto di Dio* (1477), the first example of a printed book containing copper-plate engraving, and the famous *Dante* of 1481 partly illustrated in the same manner. The artistic eminence of Florence renders the production of this work within her precincts especially significant; and in 1490 a school of wood-engraving arises which surpasses the Venetian, and often confers great artistic value upon typographical productions otherwise of little account. Another interesting feature of Florentine typography, from about 1480 until the end of the century, is the number of original publications by native men of letters, such as Politian, the Pulcis, and, in quite a different manner, Savonarola. Florence understood the duty of encouraging contemporary talent better than any other Italian city; yet, although she was the Athens of Italy, and possessed its Pericles, the comparison between the extent of her typographical production and that of Venice shows that the public is the better patron. When, at a much later period, wealth and public spirit departed from Venice to an extent which they never did from Florence, the lead passed to the latter city.

Milan is, for the first few years, principally devoted to the classics, upon which law and theology gradually gain ground. Its great glory is the first book printed in Greek—Lascaris's *Grammar*, 1476. Simoneta's History of Francesco Sforza, put forth by the authority of Lodovico Sforza about 1479, is also a memorable book. Naples, where printing was never very active, does little for classical literature, but produces numerous works by local writers of distinction, from Archbishop Caraccioli to the licentious

novelist Masuccio. The number of Hebrew books is a remarkable feature.

This slight degustation—analysis it cannot be called—of the fruits of Italian Renaissance literature confirms the proposition with which we began, that it was far more utilitarian than that of ages often stigmatised as matter of fact and prosaic. The reproductions of classical authors were not in general stimulated by enthusiasm for their beauties, but by their utility, either for the information they contained, or as books for school or college. Outside their circle very little of a fanciful or imaginative character appeared, and this chiefly in the shape of impressions of vernacular authors, such as Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Original genius was at almost as low an ebb as it has ever been, although a band of most gracefully accomplished men of letters surrounded Lorenzo de' Medici, and Ariosto and Machiavelli were growing up. In partial explanation of this circumstance, it may be remarked that the fifteenth century, brilliant in its inventions and discoveries, was, in a literary point of view, one of the most unproductive periods in European history. Petrarch and Boccaccio in Italy, Chaucer in England, left no successors; with the exception of Aeneas Sylvius, it would be difficult to point to any writer of the first half of the century eminent by his achievements in elegant literature. Had printing been invented in the thirteenth century or in the age of Elizabeth, we might have had a different story to record; but it must now be said that for a long time it did little for the encouragement of genius, hardly even of high talent. Yet the age as a whole was by no means flat or prosaic, only its imagination was more powerfully attracted to art than to letters, and a spiritual charm is chiefly

recognisable among its books in proportion as art has influenced them, whether in the design of exquisite type or of beautiful illustration. This utilitarian character of literature, as we have remarked, tended to discourage readers for amusement or for the love of letters; and this in turn discouraged printers and publishers from any serious effort to provide vernacular reading. Literature accordingly remained for a long time the property of the humanists, which is as much as to say that it was imitative and not creative. The merits and defects of this excellent class of men cannot be better exhibited than by their attitude towards Greek. It was not one of indifference, they translated Greek authors into Latin with exemplary pains; but they thought this quite sufficient, and made no effort to render the originals accessible. They valued Greek authors for their information, not for their style, and had no idea of the value of the language as an instrument of education. A creative epoch was required for this, such as speedily came with the overthrow of the old order of Italy, with the discovery of America, above all, with the Reformation. No age can again bestow so great a boon upon literature as the fifteenth century did by the invention of printing, but it was not an age in which the hero flourished conspicuously as man of letters.

R. GARNETT.

LA GRAVURE SUR BOIS À LYON AU XVE SIÈCLE.

L'HISTOIRE de la gravure sur bois à Lyon au xve siècle, histoire qui était déjà bien obscure, l'est devenue davantage depuis peu de temps. Il était relativement facile précédemment d'expliquer comment ce métier s'était formé dans cette ville; cela n'est guère possible aujourd'hui. On avait cru constater une sorte de progression dans le perfectionnement que n'ont pas confirmée des monuments découverts récemment. Il faut revenir sur ce sujet intéressant à plus d'un titre, et nous le ferons aussi brièvement que possible.

L'imprimerie typographique a été introduite à Lyon en 1472 ou en 1473; cela n'est pas douteux pour nous, quoique cela soit encore contesté. L'imprimerie y a pris, quelques années après, ce caractère particulier d'être associée à la gravure sur bois. Les premiers imprimeurs lyonnais, aussi bien les Flamands que les Allemands et les Français, s'appliquèrent à l'ornementation du livre par la gravure sur bois.

La gravure sur bois était, elle aussi, un art nouveau, et, précisément à raison de l'établissement de l'imprimerie, elle trouva à Lyon le milieu le plus favorable à son développement, au perfectionnement de ses procédés et à son emploi.

La fabrication des cartes à jouer est antérieure, à Lyon, à celle des livres. Les cartes à jouer étaient imprimées, imprimées avec des moules de bois gravés, imprimées en noir avec le *frotton* et

coloriées. Un personnel avait été formé et restait réuni pour exploiter cette petite et lucrative industrie. Trois 'faiseurs de cartes' travaillaient à Lyon de 1444 à 1460, quatorze autres de 1473 à 1480, etc., et nous connaissons huit 'tailleurs de molles de cartes' qui se sont succédé de 1444 à 1493. La réputation des cartes à jouer de Lyon s'était répandue au loin : un jeu de cartes de Lyon avait été donné à Charles VII. en 1454 et le roi René en avait fait acheter un autre en 1476.

Les tailleurs dont nous venons de parler gravaient aussi sur bois des *molles* qui devaient servir à d'autres impressions que celles des cartes. Trois d'entre eux ont pris souvent la qualité de 'graveurs en tailles de bois.' Ils ont été les premiers graveurs indépendants des images de livres.

Le premier livre imprimé à Lyon et daté qui contient des gravures sur bois, *le Livre du mirouer de la rédemption de l'umain lygnage*, est vraisemblablement sorti des presses de Martin Husz qui acheva de l'imprimer le 26 août 1478. Bernhart Richel avait donné à Bâle, en 1476, une version allemande du *Speculum humanae Salvationis*; il en avait loué ou vendu le matériel (les caractères et les bois gravés) à maître Martin (Husz) à Lyon, mais, pour remplacer les bois qui manquaient, une partie des *histoires* ont été copiées à Lyon d'après les originaux bâlois. On appelait *histoires* au xve et au xvie siècle la représentation de scènes diverses à plusieurs personnages, scènes le plus souvent historiques.

D'autres livres également illustrés ont été produits à Lyon en 1478, peut-être même en 1477. Guillaume Le Roy a signé en 1480 le roman de *Fierabras* et en 1483 *le Livre des Enéydes*; Mathieu

Husz, Jean Schabler et d'autres ont fait des ouvrages du même genre (cf. fig. 1).

La fabrication de livres ornés de gravures sur bois était devenue, dans les premiers temps, en quelque sorte propre à l'imprimerie lyonnaise, mais les imprimeurs lyonnais ne se proposaient pas de

FIG. 1.—THE QUARREL AT CHESS, FROM *LES QUATRE FILZ AYMON*, LYONS, *c.* 1480

mettre au jour des éditions ayant le caractère d'œuvres d'art ou de luxe; ils devaient servir les goûts, les besoins et les intérêts du plus grand nombre. Ils s'attachaient à répandre les versions en langue française de textes sacrés et de livres de piété, les romans de chevalerie et les chroniques aussi en langue vulgaire. Ils produisaient tout ce

qui devait être l'objet d'un commerce facile, ce qui pouvait être le plus en demande sur le large marché des foires, comme ce qui répondait au mouvement nouveau des esprits.

Il ne faut pas dès lors s'étonner de la médiocrité des gravures qui décorent les impressions lyonnaises de cette époque. Le dessin est d'ordinaire très incorrect, la taille est aussi sommaire que possible et rude. En somme, le travail est le plus souvent rudimentaire et même quasi barbare. L'imitation des procédés des graveurs allemands n'est guère dissimulée, mais, dans plus d'un cas, les tailleurs lyonnais ont montré dans l'exécution de leurs ouvrages plus de liberté qu'il n'eût semblé possible.

Les premiers livres imprimés à Lyon sont donc ornés de gravures de très faible valeur.

Nous connaissons mal les auteurs de ces gravures. Nous n'avons pas trouvé à Lyon les tailleurs sur bois soumis à l'impôt même le plus modique; les trois graveurs de moules de cartes mentionnés plus haut, Guillaume Gormy, Louis de Luxembourg et Gilles Le Riche, font seuls exception. Il paraît dès lors qu'il ne faut voir dans les tailleurs de bois pour les livres que de véritables ouvriers, dans l'acception actuelle du mot, et même des ouvriers de petite valeur et de très pauvre condition. Ils étaient en général malhabiles et leur travail était très inégal.

La gravure sur bois était-elle vraiment, à l'origine de l'imprimerie à Lyon, un métier pour ainsi dire servile, un métier sans élévation, comme on est amené à le penser après avoir observé les ouvrages faits par ces mains obscures? Non certainement. Des découvertes récentes ont démontré quelle a été en ce point l'erreur commune.

Nous devons abandonner l'ancienne thèse d'une

sorte de progrès continu. L'extrême médiocrité du travail a été longtemps remarquée, même à la fin du xve siècle et au-delà ; elle l'a été en des années où l'on a des exemples d'un mérite dans cet art qui ne laisse pas que de surprendre.

Quatre livres marquent le mieux ce que les tailleurs lyonnais pouvaient faire et ont fait.

FIG. 2.—FROM *L'HISTOIRE DE PIERRE DE PROVENCE ET LA BELLE MAGUELONNE*. LYONS

En premier lieu, on doit à Guillaume Le Roy un roman de chevalerie, non daté, qui est digne de remarque. C'est *l'Histoire de la belle Maguelonne* ; elle est ornée de planches, et la première de ces planches, faite dans le goût français, est fort bien venue (fig. 2).

Michel Topié et Jacques de Herenberch ont donné en 1490 *le Recueil des histoires de Troyes.* Le dessinateur a été hardi, sachant rendre expressif le visage des personnages. Le *faire* est peut-être un peu gothique, mais il y a de la verve, de la vigueur et une mise en scène intelligente. La taille est ferme. Ces *histoires* sont pleines de mouvement et de vie. Topié et Herenberch étaient allemands ; ils ont ressenti quelque influence flamande ou bourguignonne.

La Mer des Histoires de Jean Du Pré (1491) est autre. L'ornementation est abondante ; les vignettes ont un caractère moins franc ; des scènes d'une ordonnance naïve et d'un réalisme très étudié offrent un assez vif attrait. L'œuvre n'est pas originale ; Du Pré a fait copier les bois de l'édition publiée à Paris en 1488 et en 1489 par Pierre Le Rouge, qui avait imprimé à Chablis en 1478 et qui était venu exercer à Paris. Libraire et imprimeur de Charles VIII, Le Rouge a été un enlumineur, un graveur et un imprimeur d'une initiative singulière et d'un talent plein de force. L'œuvre est bien française. La copie n'est pas indigne de l'original ; on y trouve autant de souplesse et de liberté, et l'entreprise de Du Pré lui fait grand honneur.

Troie la grande et *la Mer des Histoires* expliquent qu'il ait été possible de produire cette édition des Comédies de Térence de Jean Trechsel (1493) qui est un chef-d'œuvre. Dans le *Térence*, le dessin est simple et large ; la diversité des tailles excite la surprise, on est en présence d'une technique savante. Les artistes, dessinateurs et graveurs, encore inconnus, ont montré dans l'exécution de toute cette histoire un rare esprit et une originalité puissante (cf. fig. 3).

Nous sommes loin ‘de cette crudité des fruits

primitifs de l'art qui plaît à certains 'goûts' que Renouvier a signalée dans son livre des *Types et manières des maîtres graveurs*, en exprimant sur les graveurs lyonnais un jugement assez dur. Mais il faut reconnaître que c'est à titre d'exception que l'ornementation du livre a été organisée, conduite

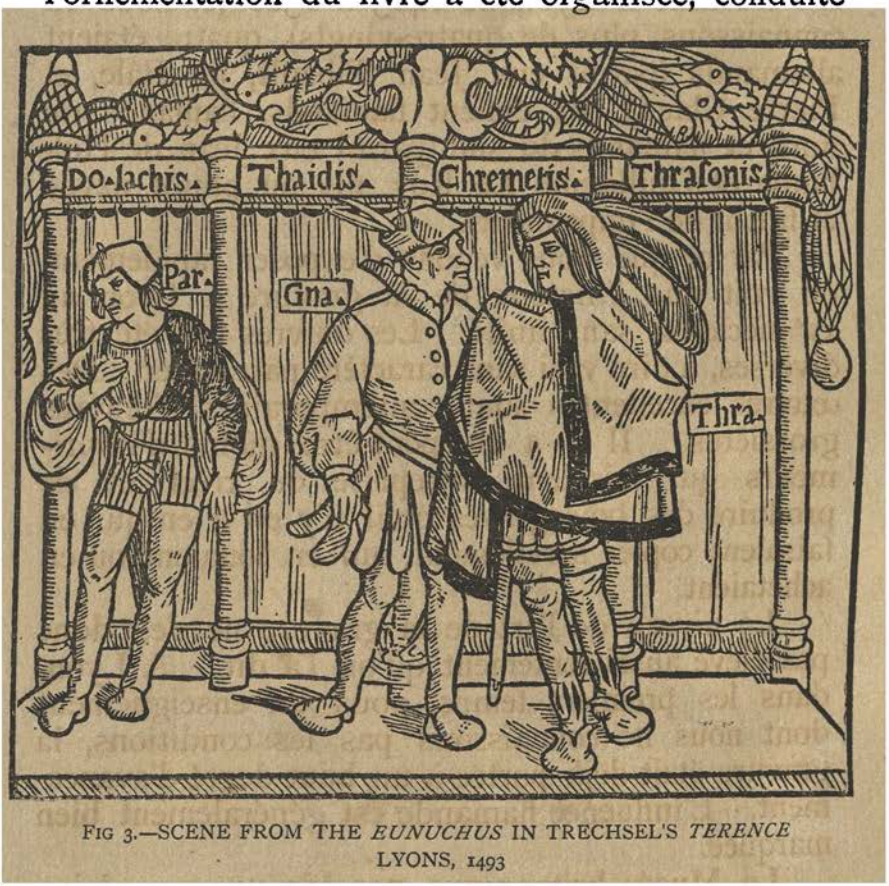


FIG 3.—SCENE FROM THE *EUNUCHUS* IN TRECHSEL'S *TERENCE*
LYONS, 1493

et exécutée avec autant d'intelligence. Guillaume Le Roy, Michel Topié, Jean Du Pré et Jean Trechsel avaient su former des graveurs que les difficultés de la tâche n'ont pas arrêtés.[1] Il ne serait pas possible de citer d'autres exemples d'une

[1] Ces imprimeurs ont aussi employé des tailleurs fort malhabiles.

aussi heureuse réalisation de leurs projets de décoration du livre.

Nous passons sous silence les dessinateurs qui ont été, en certains cas, autres que les graveurs. Il n'est pas inutile de dire que, parmi les peintres qui ont travaillé à Lyon de 1485 à 1500 (et nous en connaissons plus de quatre-vingts), quatre étaient allemands (parmi eux Jean Tibault, de Bâle, et Pierre Claud), six étaient flamands, flamands du nord et flamands du sud (parmi eux Jean de Hollande et Guillaume Le Roy, fils ou plutôt neveu et filleul de l'imprimeur).

Par ce que nous venons d'exposer rapidement, on voit que l'histoire de la gravure à Lyon au xve siècle est sans unité. Les œuvres ont été très diverses, à dire vrai sans caractère particulier. Des œuvres excellentes sont contemporaines d'œuvres grossières. Il y a eu peut-être moins d'imprimeurs qui faisaient entreprise de créer et de produire des bois gravés qu'il n'y en a eu qui en faisaient copier servilement, qui en louaient ou en achetaient.

Le niveau de l'art de la gravure ne s'est donc pas élevé aussi lentement qu'on l'a dit. A Lyon, dans les premiers temps, sous un enseignement dont nous ne connaissons pas les conditions, la gravure était déjà portée à un haut degré d'avancement. L'influence flamande est généralement bien marquée.

Le Musée britannique possède un exemplaire, peut-être unique, d'un roman, *l'histoire du chevalier Oben*,[1] imprimé avec des caractères ayant en général la même forme que ceux du *Nouveau Testament*

[1] Le livre n'a ni titre ni colophon. On lit au deuxième feuillet : '(A)u tempz du roy estie(n)ne estoit vng chevalier des parties dallemaigne de langues appelle Oben qi voulsist acoplir le voiage de saint patrix pour visiter purgatoire ainsi co(mm)e plusieurs aultres ont fait. . . .'

de Barthélemy Buyer (sans date) et tiré sur ce papier avec les filigranes de la roue dentée et du pot dont ont fait usage les premiers imprimeurs lyonnais. Les lettres capitales sont presque toutes identiques à celles du *Nouveau Testament*; les lettres ordinaires, peut-être d'un point plus petites, s'adaptent parfaitement aux capitales. Il y a toutefois des différences entre plusieurs caractères de l'Oben et ceux du *Nouveau Testament* et du *Compendium breve* du cardinal Lothaire.

Ce roman (de format in-folio, gothique, à deux colonnes, avec signatures) a été incontestablement imprimé à Lyon, dans l'atelier de Barthélemy Buyer par Guillaume Le Roy, avant 1483. Il l'a été avec une ou deux des fontes de caractères du premier atelier de Lyon, très probablement après le *Nouveau Testament*[1], fait lui-même après *le Miroir de Vie humaine* de 1477[2].

Il est difficile, en l'état présent de nos connaissances, d'assigner une date qu'on puisse regarder comme à peu près certaine à l'histoire d'Oben. Nous l'avions datée de 1480 à 1482. L'attribution de M. A. Claudin diffère très peu de la nôtre; celui-ci pencherait pour la date de 1480-1481.

Quelle que soit la date de cette impression, il n'est pas douteux que ce livre offre un grand intérêt par la planche gravée sur bois placée au recto du premier feuillet.

Ce livre n'est orné que de cette seule planche, mesurant 211 mill. de haut sur 130 de large (fig. 4). Elle représente la Vierge debout et de face avec

[1] Nous avons pris, pour l'examen des caractères du livre, l'avis de M. A. Claudin que nous tenons pour le meilleur juge en cette matière. Le matériel de l'atelier de Guillaume Le Roy, ou plutôt de Barthélemy Buyer, se composait, dès les premières années, de plusieurs fontes de caractères différant peu les unes des autres.

[2] Les lettres initiales de chapitre sont, dans *Le Miroir de vie humaine*, ornées, gravées sur bois et imprimées sur fond noir.

FIG. 4—FROM THE *HISTOIRE DU CHEVALIER OBEN*

l'enfant Jésus dans les bras, ayant derrière eux un rideau semé de roses[1]. Deux anges soutiennent une couronne fleurdelisée et fermée au-dessus de la tête de la Vierge qui est nimbée et dont la longue chevelure tressée est pendante. Le dessin est très simple, élégant et d'une grande distinction. Il est tout au trait, le trait est fin et égal : les artistes des premiers temps exprimaient par des traits généraux le caractère principal des sujets sans chercher à reproduire fidèlement les détails. Le travail de la gravure est très sommaire, et il est à remarquer que des hachures légères et courtes marquent les ombres des plis du manteau.

Aucune autre pièce lyonnaise de ce temps ne l'égale en beauté et n'a autant d'originalité. Elle est lyonnaise quant à l'origine et peut-être même quant au *faire* ; elle est flamande quant au style. Par les draperies et par quelques détails elle rappelle certaines peintures de l'école de Bruges. La Vierge, cette Vierge attristée, aux grands yeux, a une attitude et une expression pleines de dignité et de charme.

A dire vrai, l'auteur de cette gravure n'a pas montré, dans cette œuvre, une *manière* qu'il soit possible de définir. Il semble qu'il soit flamand, peut-être peintre de son métier, qu'il ait passé par l'Allemagne et se soit formé en France.

Voilà donc, tout à l'origine de l'imprimerie lyonnaise, une pièce d'un art délicat, sans analogie pour le dessin et la façon avec les autres *histoires* ; voilà une œuvre française, originale, que le graveur a revêtue de la forme chère aux Flamands ; elle a un caractère d'exception.

Il n'y a pas, à notre avis, de ressemblance entre

[1] On observe un rideau de ce genre comme fond dans des peintures françaises du xve. siècle.

cette estampe et les ouvrages signés par le maître I·D· Ceux-ci sont d'un graveur expérimenté et précis; la première est tout d'un jet, elle est d'un artiste.

Parallèlement au courant d'idées et de besoins qui entretenait à Lyon les imprimeurs dans le goût

FIG. 5.—FROM THE *QUADRAGESIMALE AUREUM*. LYONS, 1488

d'une imagerie allemande un peu lourde, d'autres traditions et d'autres habitudes rendaient nécessaire de recourir à des hommes dont l'esprit et la main étaient mieux préparés et plus affinés. C'est pour quoi plus d'un peintre a pris le crayon du dessinateur et l'outil du graveur.

Le maître I·D· était pour ainsi dire inconnu;

nous le connaissons à présent par une douzaine de planches. Il avait la simplicité et la naïveté des artistes de cette époque ; il apportait dans ses dessins une fermeté et une finesse qu'on observe rarement dans de tels ouvrages. Il était très soigneux dans son travail, mais il ne s'est pas élevé à la hauteur de l'auteur de la Vierge du chevalier Oben. Il semait le fond de ses bois de traits courts et menus, de hachures ou de rayures entrecoupées, comme on en voit dans de vieilles estampes flamandes.

Ce maître a signé de ses initiales un peu ornées ·I·D· les planches d'un *Ars moriendi* ; il a mieux donné la mesure de son talent dans deux petites planches intéressantes : l'une, placée dans le *Quadragesimale aureum de peccatis* de Jean Trechsel (1488, vieux style), représente Robert Caraccioli de Licio prêchant devant le pape et les cardinaux[1] ; l'autre, une Annonciation,[2] décore une mince plaquette intitulée *les Mistères de la Saincte Messe*. Cette Annonciation est un petit tableau charmant. *La Lapidation de Saint Étienne*, dans le Missel de Saint-Étienne de Toulouse imprimé un peu après 1490, est d'un dessin plus vigoureux, dans lequel le jeu des ombres est mieux rendu.[3]

Nous n'avons pas découvert à Lyon de graveur auquel attribuer ces initiales. A en juger par la façon de l'*Ars moriendi*, nous avions pensé qu'il pouvait être sorti des mains d'un cartier, et que les initiales pouvaient s'appliquer à Jean Dalles ou de Dalles qui a travaillé à Lyon de 1485 à 1515. Cela ne serait pas impossible, mais le Caraccioli de Licio en chaire, petite planche très étudiée, l'Annonciation des *Mistères de la saincte messe*, œuvre d'un goût fin, sont de la main d'un artiste qui appartient à

[1] De 95 mill. de haut sur 70 de large.
[2] De 115 mill. de haut sur 83 de large.
[3] De 142 mill. de haut et 194 mill. de large.

l'école flamande, et nous hésitons à admettre que celui-ci n'ait été qu'un simple cartier.

Nous avons dit que ce maître introduisait dans ses ouvrages des hachures entrecoupées. Nous n'en avons vu à Lyon que dans une planche de *la Grant danse macabre des hommes et des femmes*, publiée en 1500 par Pierre Mareschal et Barnabé Chaussard: la Mort saisit le Compositeur, l'Imprimeur et le Libraire. Tout y est vrai: l'allure et les mouvements des personnages, l'expression dans la physionomie, les accessoires de la scène. L'œuvre a été lestement exécutée, elle est excellente, bien lyonnaise, inspirée par le génie français.

Il a suffi des estampes auxquelles nous nous sommes arrêté pour changer du tout au tout le cours de nos idées sur la condition des graveurs à Lyon. On a compté parmi eux, il faut à présent le reconnaître, un très petit nombre de maîtres, il est vrai, mais de maîtres assez habiles de toute façon pour qu'on soit assuré que, au xve siècle, la gravure y ait eu, dans l'histoire de l'art, un rang à peu près aussi élevé que celui de la peinture et de la sculpture.

NATALIS RONDOT.

'ONCE A WEEK': A GREAT ART MAGAZINE

AMONG artists the interest in the books and magazines of 1860 is no new thing. True, until lately it was confined to a small set; to the men who made the drawings and engravings and those who had seen them.

This interest, this enthusiasm, is purely artistic, there has been nothing bibliographical about it as yet, there is nothing of the collector's spirit, it comes from a knowledge that the magazines and books of 1860 contain, as illustrations, many of the best and the most genuine records of British art.

Art for the artless, and the collector, save in etchings, stops with colour; nobody wants 'a penny plain'; 'two pence coloured' is fought for. The fact that Millais, Sandys, Whistler, Rossetti, Holman Hunt, Keene, Walker, Boyd Houghton, all really great artists, did their earliest and some of their best work, in black and white, is unknown and unnoted.

The public, even the editors, did not value, appreciate completely this art which came to them; the men were unknown; Sir E. Burne Jones figures as Christopher Jones in *Good Words*, Charles Keene as Keane in *Once a Week*, J. M. N. Whistler has been deprived of all his initials, but that did not hurt the work, it was magnificent. Until Whistler 'discovered or invented Japan,' the blue bowl was despised, now it is worshipped; it is no better for

that, rather the worse often, for the wear and tear of unintelligent collecting.

In the same way the art of 1860 is great, but who would look for art in illustration? It does not exist, say the critics. Possibly people hunt for it, now that they are educated, in the sixpenny tit-bits, short cuts, or sketchy albums of the present, and one hears they are satisfied. However, the inundation of cheap nastiness has driven artists back to the work of thirty years ago, and we are learning how great were the illustrators of yesterday, how contemptible the hacks and universal providers of to-day. I do not mean to say that even in drawing there are not as good men working to-day—happily some of the same men, who did the great things of 1860,—still less that for engraving and printing the magazines of 1860 are to be compared to *Harper's* or *The Century*. There were no engravers like Cole, there were no printers like De Vinne, but there were great draughtsmen, and, though one set of artists maintains that the drawings were well engraved in perfect facsimile, I can but quote Rossetti for the other:—

'I have designed five blocks for the Tennyson, some of which are still cutting and maiming. After a fortnight's work my block goes to the engraver, like Agag delicately, and is hewn to pieces before the Lord Harry.

Address to the Dalziel Brothers:

'O woodman spare that block,
O gash not anyhow;
It took ten days by clock.
I'd fain protect it now!
Chorus—Wild laughter from Dalziels' workshop.'

No one, I am afraid, defends English printing in magazines of that date; no one could; it was vile. But the art and the literature were great, and it

is interesting to make some record of them, especially of the illustrations. There was little or no competition among magazines in 1859 and 1860, and the publishers of *Once a Week* gave, without that stimulus, the largest number of drawings in their pages—when rivalry became great towards 1865, after many other magazines had been started, they published the smallest number of illustrations they could—a reversal of the modern system.

In the first thirteen volumes of *Once a Week* were printed some 1220 original works of art. This does not include diagrams, etc. Some of the magazines now publish more I imagine in a year, but in art, quantity is not everything, though the quality is kept up in some of the better journals to-day; but in 1859 it must be remembered that there were no magazines publishing original illustrations of the excellence of those in *Once a Week*, which were so good that they have lived, though this is mainly —if not altogether—owing to the fact that the drawings were so fine that no careless or careful engraver or vile printing could altogether ruin them.

Once a Week was started on July 2nd, 1859. It was described in a sub-title as a miscellany of literature, art, science, and popular information, illustrated by Leech, Tenniel, Millais, H. K. Brown, C. Keene, Wolf, and others. The publishers and printers were Bradbury and Evans, the editor S. Lucas, the engravers Dalziels and Swain, to whom credit is never given, whose names are never mentioned. The artists and authors were the most distinguished, the most famous, the most notorious in the country.

On the first page of the first number of the first volume, the editor's prospectus appears in rhyme,

written by Shirley Brooks, illustrated with three drawings by Leech. The announcement begins—

'*Adsumus.* With no pregnant words that tremble with awful purpose take we leave to come!

. . . . . .

'Accept some lightest lines of rhyme, to speak
Our notion of the work we've undertaken
Our new hebdomadal—our *Once a Week.*'

Then the poet goes on to tell how many pleasant things come Once a Week.

'Music for instance. There's sweet Clara Horner
Listening to Mario with her eyes and ears.
Observe her, please, in the left-hand corner,
Type of the dearest of our English dears.
Our hint may help her to admire or quiz it,
To love Mozart or laugh at Verdi's shriek,
And add another pleasure to her visit
(She shouldn't go much oftener) *Once a Week.*'

A not very artistic beginning, cheap machine-made verses; a silly characterless scribble by Leech which is praised. The tone of artless advice 'to love Mozart and laugh at Verdi's shriek'—the education of the classes even then!

On the second page a vulgar Leech, a fat, red-nosed city gent, reeking sweat and sovereigns, sprawls, with difficulty, in a chair in the back-garden of his Brixton villa; his daughters serve him like slaves, at least they would be described as slaves if they had been found in any other land, even by Leech; but here:

'Proud Princess Poll brings him the rich Havannah
To soothe his royal soul with pleasant reek,
Pet Princess Meg discrowns him. Princess Anna
Brings him iced drink, and straws, and *Once a Week.*'

Vulgar, advertising, moral; however, Mr. Brooks says they will be moral, at all cost. Leech, out of

date, out of art, out of fashion, need scarcely concern us. *Once a Week* would have remained in well-merited seclusion if it had depended on him, or H. K. B., or Hine, or any of that set, for its art. Tenniel illustrates the first story in the first number, 'Audun and his White Bear.' Thirty-seven years ago he was just like the Tenniel we know to-day, his style has scarcely changed. But on page 10 I find the first drawing, which must have made the city gent stare and the artist rave, and the fame of the journal—a Millais, illustrating 'Magenta,' a poem by Tom Taylor. They were much given to letting themselves go in verse,—Taylor, Thornbury, and the rest,—and the best artists were asked to illustrate their verses, and so these poets have lived.

No doubt the editor must have received letters from indignant readers complaining of this Millais, and complaints might justly have been raised as to the bad printing. Mr. F. W. Lawson has a story of one editor telling a young artist that a certain reader had complained of his drawing. 'Now what would you have me do?' said the editor. 'Send the reader back his sixpence,' replied the artist. As the editor was a Scotchman I am not quite sure about the result.

Millais's drawing, which, I am afraid, was shockingly engraved, illustrated these lines—

> 'Cry! let the poor soul wrestle with the woe
> Of that bereavement. Who takes thought of her?
> Through the illumined streets the triumphs go,
> Under her window many banners stir.'

A woman, whose 'him'—Taylor's elegant description—has been killed at Magenta, lies in a darkened upper chamber in Paris, while the rejoicing crowds, with banners and torches just seen and suggested through the open windows, surge along the illumi-

nated streets to Notre Dame. The sentiment is rather trite, but the drawing of the grief-stricken woman is fine, her face buried in the pillows to keep out the sight, though she still cannot help listening to a nation's joy which is her woe, the study of her dress, the illuminated houses, all are charming, and I do not doubt that in the original drawing the difference between the darkened room and the brilliant street was more evident than Dalziels have made it in the engraving, and the printing in my copy is shockingly bad. What Millais's drawings looked like on the block, however, will never be known. There are legends that he left much to the engraver; on one occasion, for example, it is said a white shirt-front went to be engraved; instead, however, of drawing it on the block, he wrote on the wood 'shirt here,' and the legend 'shirt here,' and not the shirt, came back to him carefully engraved.

On page 11 there is a curious archaic drawing signed by neither artist nor engraver, but the index says it is by Charles Keene. It is quite unrecognisable and without merit, save for a little dwarf whose head is full of character. The illustration is a large initial for Charles Reade's '*A Good Fight*'—now known, I believe, as *The Cloister and the Hearth*. None of the other drawings in the story are signed, and there is little character, save in the careful details, till suddenly an illustration appears on page 151, the dwarf climbing up the wall of the tower; here is the real, the true, the very Keene. There is a much better one on page 483, 'The foundation of my picture-gallery,' the two figures so good in action and the little pictures so carefully studied, much the best thing of his in the volume. None are signed, and but these two would be recognised as

Keene's work. The first signed drawing of his that I have found is on page 43 of volume v. A geological specimen well done by T. Scott (p. 4) is the only interesting work not by a figure man in the first number, even in the first volume. Another tiresome Leech, the 'Original Bun House,' closed the first number—a mob of ill-drawn, unobserved boys 'tucking in,' urged on to guzzle by a fashion-plate female, while a she-dragon of a shopkeeper, the only pretence at character, appears in the back-ground, commonplace, stupid, and inartistic. Leech was always awarded the most prominent place, and did at first the greatest number of drawings. Had he not been so shoved forward, he would have been deservedly forgotten long ago. He only lives now in sentiment, a tradition; as an artist he never existed.

Truly this was not an amazing first number, yet it contained the work of two men about to become famous, Keene and Millais. Even the whole volume, with its 171 drawings, is not notable save as a link between the old work and the new. Harvey, Hine, Leech, Brown on the one side, Keene, Millais, Lawless, Tenniel on the other.

In the first volume Millais's work almost alone demands notice. The 'Grandfather's Apology' by Tennyson,—the literature was improving like the art, Tennyson had replaced Taylor,—page 43, is to my mind, if not in idea, yet in execution, one of his best illustrations. It was engraved by Dalziels, the two firms, Swain and Dalziels, at this time engraving the blocks between them.

P. Skelton's 'Chalets in the Jura' (p. 244) is not bad; and there is one of those much-needed proofs that our surroundings are beautiful enough if we

only know it, in Millais's graceful girl (p. 306), although she wears what is usually considered to be the horrid costume, the chignon and crinoline, of the period. That Millais was true to life is proved by the French character in the drawing on page 316; his design for Miss Rossetti's 'Maude Clare' (p. 382) is careless, however, and there is also by him a not very good version of St. Bartholomew on page 514.

M. J. Lawless also has three drawings in this volume for 'Sentiment from the Shambles,' by Olive Keese. He is remarkable for never being himself, never the same. He changes his style and his signature with almost every design. That on page 509 is the best, but it is rather like Arthur Hughes', and the signature is Leighton's; the first is signed more like Millais—he had always this trick of imitating people's signatures.

The editors, in a postscript on the last page of the first volume, say they 'have ample cause to congratulate themselves on the success of the work, for if its circulation up to this point is an adequate test, its commercial success is decidedly established.' The circulation was, I believe, quite equal to that of the most successful sixpenny magazines to-day, and from every other standpoint it far surpassed them. The editors announced improvements both in the artistic and literary departments, and early in the year 1860, February 11, page 133, George Meredith's *Evan Harrington* commenced and ran for nearly a year, illustrated entirely, week after week, by Charles Keene. There are thirty-seven drawings by him, many of which are flat contradictions to the statement that he could not draw a lady, even if he did not do fashion-plates. Robert appears, and there are exquisite landscapes, figures,

animals by him: he could, like a great artist, draw anything.

This, the second volume, contains 157 drawings. If there are almost a score less than in the first, there is a great improvement in the quality. Even Leech, who still contributes most (forty-two), tries once or twice; his 'Divorce a Vinculo' (p. 187), the constable keeping out from the courts the women who want to hear cases, is really fine. I think the disgusting unsigned page, 610, is by him however: a Channel steamer on a level keel, in a storm, with all the passengers sick—Frenchmen, of course, whom the insular Leech could not stand.

Holman Hunt has, on page 438, to 'Witches and Witchcraft,' a rather wooden affair, yet showing careful work in the interior of the cottage, which is rendered with an impossible realism. Dalziels engraved it; both they and Swain still share the work between them. Fred Walker, too, makes his first appearance in the second volume (p. 165, February 11th) with a very elaborate study of a room in a cottage, illustrating an article, 'Peasant Proprietorship,' signed H. E. The engraver's name is not given, but Walker put his in full on the block. He improves, but is not yet notable, only interesting.

Millais gets at times very slovenly, as on page 10, and good again on page 32. Lawless is big and dignified in the weeping women for the 'Bridle of Galatrum,' by S. Lover (p. 88), and if almost like Millais, whose signature he appropriates on page 220 in his study of Florinda, still he has much style and growing character.

Steadily the number of drawings decreases; the third volume contains but 132. Hine, the old, with twenty-five, and Keene, the new man, with twenty-

one, are almost equal in productiveness, but scarcely in quality, yet some of Hine's landscapes and figures (p. 463 for example) are good; still in landscape the magazine was always weak. Leech has but seven, and Du Maurier with eight drawings, and Charles Green with seven, appear for the first time. Walker with sixteen begins to get popular. It is interesting to note that, even so far back as July 7th, 1860, a series of articles on Japanese art was begun, and some of Hokusai's 'Hundred Views' were reproduced. The Du Mauriers are boyish on pp. 378-9; but he suddenly changes his style on page 575, and becomes graceful and commonplace. Walker improves, but Keene as always is the master. There are two very fine Holman Hunts, though the Chinese one (p. 630) is very funny; the English house with the Tartars in it, in European armour, is like a genuine pre-Raphaelite work for *naïveté*. But the 'At Night,' to an unsigned poem, is charming: the husband alone with his wife, who is dying in the night, is powerful, true, and yet full of sentiment. There is a good out-of-door modern Lawless too on page 659, the background like a Keene.

A curious early attempt at process is described on pp. 240 *et seq.*, drawings being really reproduced, enlarged and reduced, very successfully, and printed in the number for August 25th, 1860. The Keene drawing so reproduced, first appeared in vol. i. p. 427. The reproductions were made in rubber moulds and enlarged, or reduced, by stretching or pressure.

Volume iv. contains the greatest number of Tenniels (28), mostly for 'The Silver Cord,' a story by Shirley Brooks, each of the artists, in succeeding volumes, having a chance to come out pro-

minently in turn. Lawless has a rather good design, 'The Death of Œnone'—

'When the stars began to look out from heaven

. . . . . .

Down the Scamander two silent ghosts strode into the evening grey.'

The effect of the floating figures, high in air, amid the moon and stars, is fine. In this volume, too, Fred Walker, having been asked to illustrate the 'Heart of Voltaire,' p. 66, goes to Menzel, but only to prove that he was not a master of historical design, that Menzel's subjects were not his.

Much the most notable contributions, to this volume, are those of Frederick Sandys, who makes his appearance for the first time in the magazine with three designs. If, however, the 'Dying Heroes from Uhland' is by him, it is not worth remembering; he gets the credit for it in the Index; but if he did draw it, it only proves that he could do a commonplace thing occasionally. On page 350 he really shows himself for the first time in 'Once more let the organ play,' another translation from Uhland. The musician pauses for a moment—

''Tis some unearthly blessed strain,
He stops with awe—the list'ner's soul
Hath gently passed away.'

Death stands at the back of the organ, he is really the organist; and when the sick man hears the glorious tones, he dies. This is as fine in conception as Holbein's 'Dance,' and it is worked out like a Dürer.

The 'Sailor's Bride' (p. 434) is not so interesting, at least in the engraving. The blocks are engraved, from this volume onwards, by Swain altogether. Dalziels do no more. That is, they

were engraved in Swain's shop; it is impossible that any one man could have done them all. For much of the work, I believe Mr. W. H. Hooper deserves the credit.

F. Shields has on page 491 a ghastly, uncanny, 'Hour with the Dead,' 'When the long-lost come once more.' The effect of moonlight on the bed and the study of the sleeping figure are fine. Harrison Weir does one drawing (p. 721), but Sir John Gilbert and Birket Foster, I think, never contributed any to *Once a Week*. Harvey and Leech each have one, but the young men were taking their places.

With the fifth volume the illustrations had decreased to ninety-two. Sandys again has three: 'From my window' (p. 238), a beautiful study of landscape in evening light; the well-known 'Three Statues of Ægina' (p. 491), and the amazing 'Rosamond Queen of the Lombards' (p. 631), fondling her father's skull, made into a wine cup, just after she has slain the king,

'Gorged with wine and flesh.'

She kneels before the desk, richly carved, covered with books, by which her scissors and pens hang; behind her, on his bed, is the dead king whose blood streams down across the floor, the lamps flare and flicker in the darkness, and the morning light comes in at the back, showing the horror and disorder of the place. Save the Sandys of the next year, I know of no other English illustration in its way to approach this. Walker, Millais, Keene, Lawless, and Du Maurier are interesting. In a drawing by the latter, on page 361, there is a curious portrait of Whistler, whose work appears for the first time next year. Hine does the most drawings in this volume—twenty, and Walker

sixteen. Those for the 'Settlers of the Long Arrow' are as good as anything the latter ever did.

There is also on page 29 a little H. K. B.; 'Student's Song,' with little dream people sitting on the student's books, which is most graceful and helps to explain H. K. B.'s popularity.

Just half the number of illustrations appear in the sixth volume that there were in the first (86). Leech has ceased for ever, though he did not die till November 1864. Hine and H. K. B. still go on, and Prout suddenly appears with eight drawings.[1] Du Maurier, Keene, Walker, and Millais are altogether delightful. Sandys, for a third time, has three, 'The Old Chartist' (p. 183), for the poem by George Meredith, the finest pre-Raphaelite book-illustration ever made.[2]

The old man, returning home from transportation, leans upon a great stone by the brook side and watches a brown water rat; that is all, but it is in the study of landscape, of foreground, of effect, that the drawing is so amazing; every bit of detail is terribly elaborate, yet it keeps its place. It is conceived in the spirit of the best tradition of the past, and carried out with all the knowledge of the present. This print should be in the possession of every collector, and it seems to me that it should be enlarged and published in photogravure. The 'Key at the Gate' (p. 322) is simpler but full of character and interest. 'Jacques de Caimont' (p. 615) is again quite like a Holbein (a Dance of Death). There are also two drawings by E. J. Poynter in this volume which show the powerful

[1] Whether these are old drawings, or the work of another artist of the same name, I do not know. S. Prout died 1852.

[2] For permission to reproduce the illustration by Sir John Millais, the editor's thanks are due to Messrs. Bradbury and Agnew; for 'The Old Chartist,' and the other three illustrations, to Messrs. Chatto and Windus.

THE OLD CHARTIST. BY F. SANDYS

influence of Sandys, and the first of Whistler's illustrations (p. 712) for 'The Major's Daughter.' Curiously interesting is it to find that Whistler considered it worth his while to illustrate stories; much of the silvery grey delicacy of the figure seated on the deck of a ship at sea and the distance has been entirely cut to pieces. This and the three others by Whistler were called 'startling,' when they were reprinted by Walter Thornbury in his *Legendary Ballads*, for which the author would like one to believe they were drawn, when as a matter of fact they were all taken from *Once a Week*.

Thornbury says: 'some startling drawings by Mr. Whistler prove his singular power of hand, strong artistic feeling, and daring manner!' And in my copy of *Legendary Ballads*, the late G. A. Sala wrote against the drawing on page 210, vol. vii., in Thornbury's book, p. 129, 'Jimmy Whistler, clever, sketchy, incomplete, like everything he has done, a loaf of excellent bread but slack-baked.'

It is incredible that these four little illustrations should have so disturbed the respectable critics of the day. The three Whistlers in the seventh volume (which contains eighty-eight drawings) are on pages 140, 210, and 378. The first is for a 'Relief fund in Lancashire,' and, I suppose, is a scene from an amateur dramatic performance, given at Covent Garden, in aid of the fund. It is a curiously unsuccessful piece of engraving. The second is for Thornbury's 'Morning before the massacre of St. Bartholomew.' This drawing is the one which called out Sala's culinary criticism, and is reprinted in Thornbury's *Ballads* under the title of 'Lady Mabel's Lovers.' The third (p. 378) is to Count Burkhardt, 'In Lichtenstein a pale young nun looks wearily in the sun.'

MORNING BEFORE THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.
BY J. M'NEIL WHISTLER

Again, there are three Sandys: 'The Great Harold Harfagr,' the poem translated by G. Borrow (p. 154), 'The death of King Warwolf,' (p. 266), and the 'Boy Martyr' (p. 602).

Simeon Solomon has two studies of Jewish life, and in them Jews are drawn by a Jew with some character (p. 192).

Walker's drawings for the 'Prodigal Son' are most notable, full of life and go. Millais and Keene are very free and individual, and certainly they suffered at the hand of the wood engraver for their freedom. Poynter is very good indeed, though still influenced by Sandys. 'The dream of love' (p. 368), a woman asleep in the firelight, is admirable, and on page 722, the dead man under a bridge is excellent in drawing.

There is also a curious study of mesmerism in the 'Notting Hill Mystery' (p. 645), by Du Maurier, showing that *Trilby* was not the commencement of his essays in that direction, but the final outcome.

In vol. viii. (eighty-two drawings) Du Maurier is at his best, his renderings of light are marvellous, as for example, the policeman throwing his bull's-eye on the figure (p. 1); the dignified woman in white, (p. 57); or the splendid study of illuminated shops, with dark figures telling against them (p. 351).

G. J. Pinwell appears this year, for the first time, with seven drawings; H. K. B. and Hine have only one each; Du Maurier and Millais do most: twelve and eleven. Millais illustrated 'The Hampdens,' by Harriet Martineau, and he was very uneven.

In the ninth volume (fifty-nine drawings) Walter Crane enters with villains, or heroes, or assassins, with swords and daggers, in the 'Castle of Mont Orgueil' (p. 713). There was not much of a con-

ILLUSTRATION TO 'THE ANGLERS OF THE DOVE.' BY SIR JOHN MILLAIS

ventionally decorative scheme about him then; he was working realistically like all the rest—and very well too.

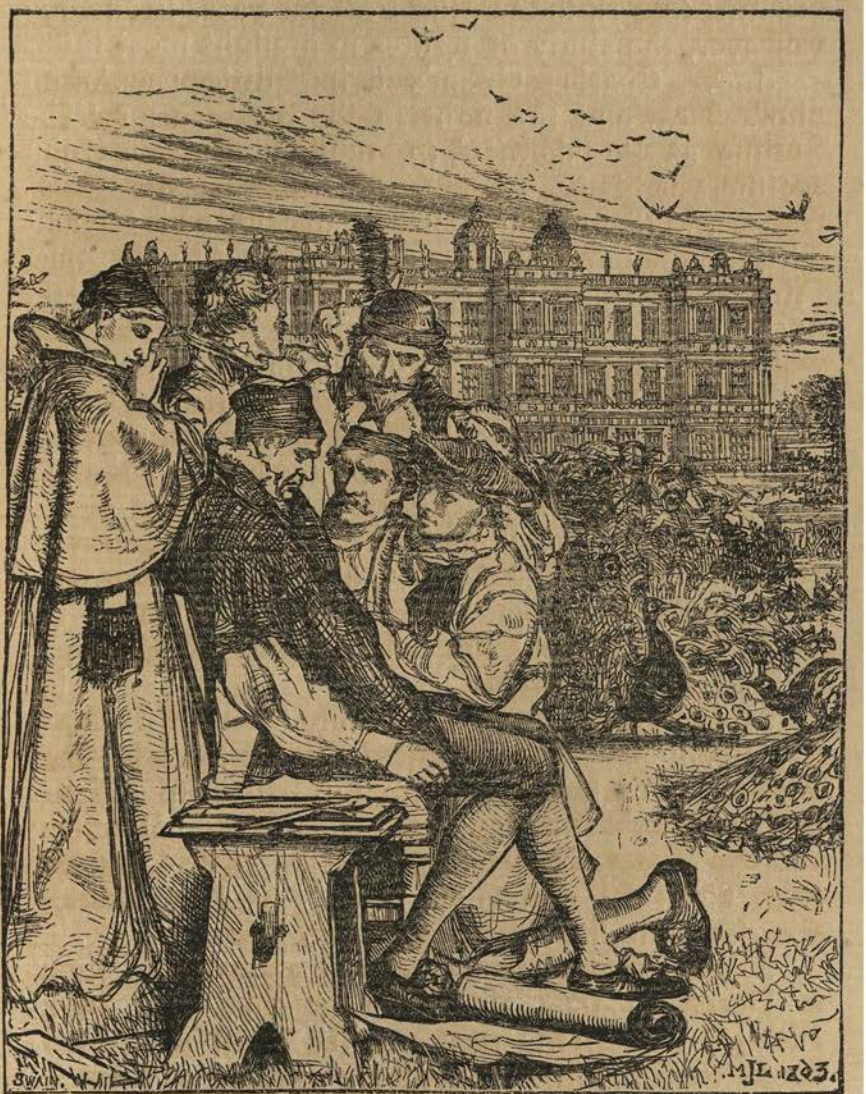
J. W. North does a view of Sameur without much character. There are more landscapes by T. Sulman in the volume than anything else, and they are not very great. Millais did a number for 'Son Christopher,' by H. Maclaren; mostly very slight. There is a magnificent Keene (p. 43), for the 'Viking's Serf,' by Thornbury, tremendously powerful figures. Pinwell was improving too. The old woman (p. 57) is fine.

For the tenth volume (fifty-five drawings) there are some good C. Greens. 'Norman's visit to Guestford,' on page 43, is remarkable in colour. Pinwell does the most (fifteen), yet he is not at his best. One finds him more interesting in Jean Ingelow's *Poems*, *Wayside Posies*, and other books, where he drew freely on paper. The study of a shawl is about the best, for 'The Blacksmiths of Holsby' (p. 154), in this volume.

Lawless has one or two, notably 'John of Padua' (71), where the Italian is found dead, his work—the building of the palace at Longleat—finished. Tenniel's very best drawing is in this volume, 'Bacchus and the Water Thieves' (588), who 'with laughter grim hang the god to the mast.' Robert Barnes also comes in, but his work is very young.

From volume eleven (seventy drawings), June to December 1864, almost all the chief men, save Pinwell, are absent; next year the great illustrated books were to appear, they were working at them.

W. R. Burton has character; his drawing of 'King Charles on his way to Execution' (p. 14) is good—the dark figures against the light—but there had been better things. Du Maurier, in one of his



THE DEATH OF JOHN OF PADUA. BY M. J. LAWLESS

two drawings, the interior of a 'Tent in a Miner's Camp' (p. 57), for 'Philip Fraser's Fate,' is as good as ever, the study of figures in firelight most interesting. Charles Green's flying little people on horseback, and the fight in the distance for 'The Hunt at Portskewitt' (p. 126), suggest Sir John Gilbert at his best.

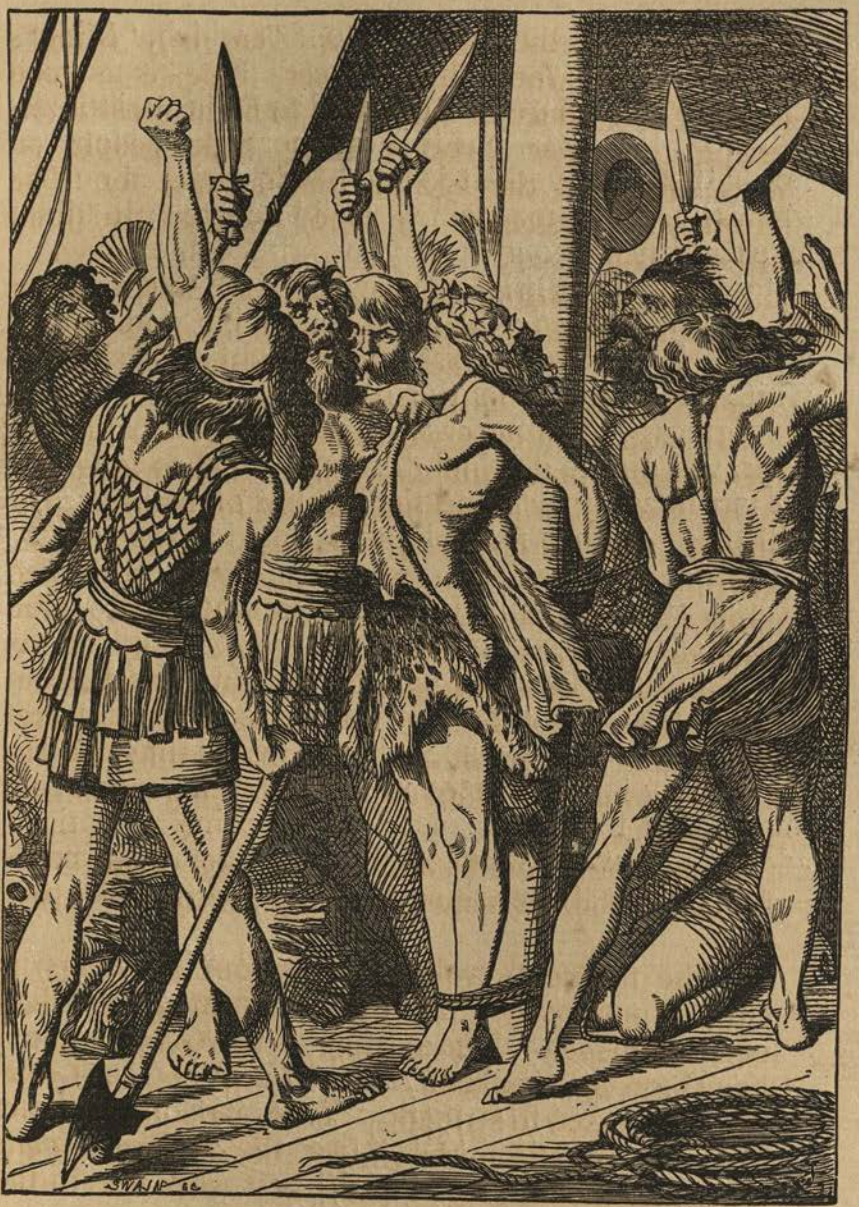
Pinwell, Morten, Eltze, Fairfield, and Lamont are interesting, but only as echoes, not to say sometimes cribs, as in the quaint version of Millais' 'Ophelia,' signed Eltze (p. 266).

In vol. xii. (sixty-two drawings) F. W. Lawson has several, and Paul Gray, M. E. Edwards, and A. B. Houghton contribute for the first time. The latter's 'Old King Dying' (p. 463), shows that he was then at the height of his powers. Stretched upon his bed, fondling his trusty wolf-hound, who watches his master grimly, his good sword at his feet, his warriors waiting with solemn dread about the couch, the old king lies dying—this is great illustration and great art. But Mr. Housman has already written most lovingly and intelligently about this genius.

Some of J. Wolf's animal drawings must be referred to: there is a most amusing specimen on page 425.

The thirteenth volume (sixty-four drawings) is curious but dreary. The great illustrated books had been published. The starting of the *Graphic* must have been contemplated. *Good Words* and the *Cornhill* had ceased to struggle. True, good illustrations did come out still in the *Quiver*, the *Shilling Magazine*, and the *Argosy*, but the best work was in the books.

Even the Houghtons look as though they had been left over from the *Arabian Nights*. There are



BACCHUS AND THE WATER THIEVES. BY SIR JOHN TENNIEL

one Crane and two H. K. B's., one of which, 'In the Clouds,' is dainty.

A drawing on page 15 (indexed as 14) is attributed to M. E. Edwards, but it is far more like a North; no matter, however—it is good. So flickered out a great illustrated magazine. It did not stop; it still, as extra illustrations, next year, printed fine things, notably Walker's original drawing of the 'Vagrants,' afterwards painted; for not a few of his, and other artists', later pictures first saw the light as black and white illustrations in the pages of this and other magazines, and in no case do I think the painters improved on the original drawing. But so long as art is valued by cash and the amount of paint used, will these pictures never be appreciated at their true worth.

But after vol. xiii. (June to December 1865) the special character changes.

Still artists love and delight in, and collect, old *Once a Weeks*, and so soon as this is known there will be a rush, a rage, a mania, for possessing them.

Rightly too; for here is a form of art equal in importance to the Japanese colour print, with the added interest that we know it, we understand it, and —well, some, still working, have helped to make it.

JOSEPH PENNELL.

THE STRAWBERRY-HILL PRESS

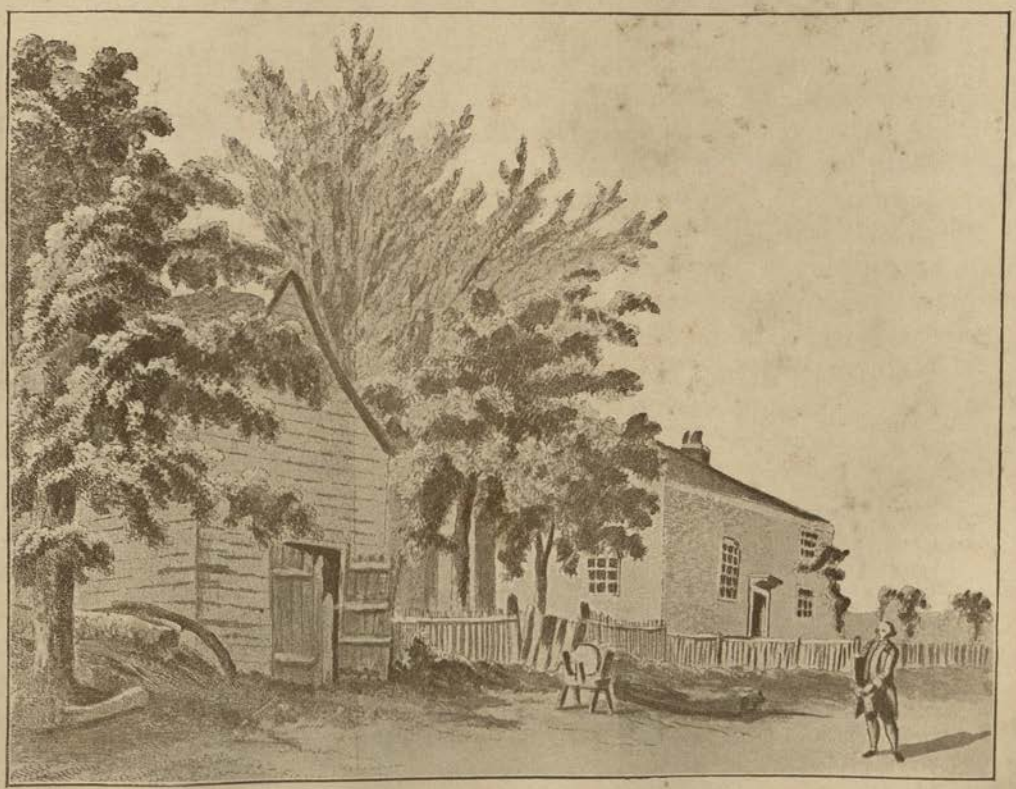
HORACE WALPOLE has claims upon the gratitude of Englishmen both as a writer and as a collector, but book-men chiefly honour him as the founder of a distinguished press, from which were issued books of a higher character than those we are apt to associate with a private imprint. Some of these books were sold to the public in considerable numbers, and most of the productions of what Mr. Austin Dobson calls the *Officina Arbuteana* are works of standard value.

Walpole was thirty years of age when he commenced the alterations that changed 'Chopped Straw Hall' into the 'Castle' at Strawberry Hill, the decoration and furnishing of which was the real work of his life. Ten years afterwards (on June 25th, 1757) he erected a printing-press in a small cottage adjoining his villa, and this continued in use until his death in 1797. For the first few years of the experiment, until the employment of Thomas Kirgate in 1768, Walpole was, as he himself complained, 'plagued with a succession of bad printers.' On August 4, 1757, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, he thus describes his first printer, William Robinson: 'I should tell you that he has the most sensible look in the world; Garrick said he would give any money for four actors with such eyes—they are more Richard the Third's than Garrick's own; but, whatever his eyes are, his head is Irish.' Walpole was pleased with his printer, and the printer was pleased with his master. In a letter

to a friend in Ireland, Robinson described his position in glowing terms: 'He (Walpole) has fitted out a complete printing-house at this his country seat, and he has done me the favour to make me sole manager and operator, there being no one but myself.'[1] This happy state of things did not, however, last, and in less than two years there was a disagreement, and Robinson had to go. Walpole, writing to the Rev. Henry Zouch, on March 15, 1759, says: 'At present even my press is at a stop, my printer, who was a foolish Irishman, and took himself for a genius, and who grew angry when I thought him extremely the former and not the least of the latter, has left me, and I have not yet fixed upon another.'[2] Three other printers were employed in succession, but they remain nameless. Walpole was grievously troubled by them, his edition of Lucan was delayed and his *Anecdotes of Painting* hung up by their vagaries. He poured out his sorrows to Sir David Dalrymple in a letter dated December 21, 1761: 'You will, I hope, find less trouble with printers than I have done. Just when my book was, I thought, ready to appear my printer ran away, and has left it very imperfect. This is the fourth I have tried, and I own it discourages me; our low people are so corrupt and such knaves, that being cheated and disappointed are all the fruits of attempting to amuse one's self or others. Literature must struggle with many difficulties. They who print for profit, print only for profit; we who print to entertain or instruct others are the bubbles of our designs. Defrauded, abused, pirated—don't you think, sir, one need have resolution? Mine is very nearly exhausted.'[3]

[1] Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 94. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 216. [3] *Ibid.* iii. 469.

T. K.



VI. Portrait of Kirgate and View of the Press.

Thomas Farmer printed the *Anecdotes of Painting in England* in 1762, and Prat the *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*[1] in 1764. The staff had now been enlarged to two, but a more extended one could not be arranged, as there was not sufficient accommodation. Walpole, again writing to Dalrymple on February 23, 1764, says: 'My press from the narrowness of its extent, and having but one man and a boy, goes very slow, nor have I room or fortune to carry it farther.[2]

Thomas Kirgate was employed in 1765, and was at once set to work on a second edition of the first three volumes of the *Anecdotes of Painting*, and from this time till Walpole's death master and man continued to work well together. Kirgate was useful in many ways, and he acted as amanuensis as well as printer when his master had the gout. On December 8, 1773, Walpole wrote to Mason: 'My printer is turned into a secretary, and I myself into a packhorse.[3]

Several attempts at a Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press have been made. The first was in the *Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole* (1774, 1784), and the next in the *Typographical Antiquities* (1797) of Henry Lemoine, which, besides the 'History, Origin and Progress of the Art of Printing,' contained 'also Particulars and Complete History of the Walpolean Press established at Strawberry Hill.' This second list is incorrect, and Walpole's works not printed at his press are included in it. G. Baker's useful

[1] We ought not to forget that we owe this standard work entirely to Walpole. It was shown to him in MS., and he at once saw its value. Lord Powis refused to allow it to be printed: Walpole insisted, and succeeded. The flattering dedication settled the matter, and Lord Powis gave up his ancestor.

[2] Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 197. [3] *Ibid.* vi. 26.

Catalogue was printed in 1810 in an edition of twenty copies:—

'A Catalogue of Books, Poems, Tracts, and small detached Pieces printed at the Press at Strawberry Hill, belonging to the late Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. J. Barker, Printer, Great Russell Street, Covent Garden.'

The Introduction is signed 'G. B.,' December 31, 1810. The next list is really a Catalogue of a private collection of Walpole's productions:—

'A Catalogue of Books and Tracts printed at the private press of the Hon. Horace Walpole (afterwards Earl of Orford), at Strawberry Hill, near Twickenham, together with those of his works printed by Bodoni at Parma, Dodsley and W. Bathoe. London, 1813.'

Lists will also be found in Dibdin's *Bibliomania* and in Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*, but the best description of the books printed at Strawberry Hill is in the Appendix to Mr. Austin Dobson's *Horace Walpole: a Memoir* (1893), where there are collations and descriptions of the books with illustrative references from the producer's *Letters*. A few single leaves are mentioned in this list, but most of the fugitive pieces are left unregistered.

It is necessary to bear in mind that Walpole had a very practical end in view in the setting up of his printing-press. In some instances the impressions were small, and the copies were presented to friends, but in others the numbers were large, and copies were sold through the booksellers. One thousand copies were printed of the first issue of the press—Gray's [two] *Odes*, and these were sold by Dodsley for one shilling each. Mr. Dobson says that Dodsley paid forty guineas to Gray on account of the sales,[1] so that we may guess that the whole edition was sold out at once. David

[1] *Horace Walpole*, p. 151.

Garrick's six quatrains to Gray on the *Odes* was printed at the Press in the same year (1757) on a single leaf, but there were only six copies. The charming actress, Kitty Clive, Walpole's neighbour and friend, was much interested in the printing business, and is said to have boasted that '*we* printed the *Odes* at *our* press.'

Hentzner's Journey into England in 1598, translated by Richard Bentley the younger, was to have been the first issue, but it was kept back for Gray's *Odes*.

Writing to John Chute, July 26, 1757, Walpole said, 'I hope Dr. Warburton will not think I encroach either upon his commentatorship or private pretensions if I assume these lines of Pope, thus altered, for myself:

> "Some have at first for wits, then poets pass'd;
> Turn'd *printers* next, and proved plain fools at last."'[1]

This printing of large editions and consequent dealings with booksellers troubled the fastidious amateur. The bookseller of the eighteenth century had found out the advantages that might result to him by creating 'a corner' in books, and Walpole complains—'the London booksellers play me all manner of tricks. If I do not allow them ridiculous profit they will do nothing to promote the sale; and when I do, they buy up the impression, and sell it at an advanced price before my face. This is the case of my two first volumes of *Anecdotes*, for which people have been made to pay half a guinea, and a guinea, more than the advertised price. In truth, the plague I have had in every shape with my own printers, engravers, the booksellers, etc., besides my own trouble, have

[1] Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 93.

almost discouraged me from what I took up at first as an amusement, but which has produced very little of it.'[1]

The printing of the Strawberry Hill books is somewhat unequal, but the majority of them are excellent specimens of good readable type, and among the best examples of eighteenth century work. They will probably be valued for their legibility and elegance of appearance long after the archaic style so popular in the present day has gone out of fashion. The title-pages are particularly charming, and the vignette of Strawberry Hill (of which there are three varieties), found on the titles of most of these books, is very elegant. Hereby hangs a tale. Mr. Austin Dobson styles this vignette, 'Strawberry Hill Book-plate,' and Mr. Egerton Castle and Mr. W. J. Hardy, in their works on Book-plates, treat this as a genuine *ex-libris*, but as far as I am aware there is no evidence that it has ever been found as a book-plate in a book. Some of the largest collectors have denied its use in this way, and have challenged its production, but at present without result. The further legend that the vignette was designed by Bewick is absurd, as T. Bewick was not born till 1753, and the vignette first appeared in 1757. It is probably the work of Bentley. The two genuine armorial book-plates of Horace Walpole are well known.[2]

Some of Walpole's works were printed before he started his press, but after that date he seems to have been irregular in his selection of books. Thus, the *Royal and Noble Authors*, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, *Catalogue of Engravers*,

[1] Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 197.

[2] See *Journal of the Ex-Libris Society*, vol. v. (1895) p. 128.

The Mysterious Mother, *Hieroglyphic Tales*, and the *Essay on Modern Gardening*, were printed at Strawberry Hill, but the *Castle of Otranto* (1765), and *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III.* (1768), were printed elsewhere.

Besides the standard works, such as *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont* (1772), and others already mentioned, several trifles by eminent men and women were printed at Strawberry Hill. With respect to two publications of 1775, verses to Mrs. Crewe by Charles James Fox, and *Dorinda: a Town Eclogue*, by his friend the Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, Mason wrote to Walpole, June 17th, 'the young cub's [Fox] is certainly the best; it has something of character and originality about it, the other is the most old-fashioned thing to be written by a young man of fashion that I ever read. He [Fitzpatrick] might have writ it in a full-bottomed wig, a cravat and roll-ups. And Sir Conyers Darcy, had he been alive, might have admired it, and carried it to Lady Betty Germaine as a *jeu d'esprit* of my Lord Lansdowne's. If my friend Mr. Kirgate had not dated it, I should have thought it printed somewhere about the last years of Queen Anne.'[1] One of the latest issues of the press was *Bishop Bonner's Ghost* (1789), by Hannah More, which was made the means of bringing Bishop Porteus and Walpole together. Miss More, with what she styled a double treachery, showed to the Bishop a letter she had received from Walpole, and to Walpole one sent her by the Bishop. Walpole, writing to her on July 20, says: 'I see all your delicacy in what you call your double treachery, and your kind desire of connecting two

[1] Walpole's *Letters*, vi. 229.

of your friends. The seeds are sprung up already, and the Bishop has already condescended to make me the first, and indeed so unexpected, a visit, that had I in the least surmised it, I should certainly, as became me, have prevented him.' He goes on to say that he had carried thirty copies of the *Ghost* to the Bishop. 'I was delighted with the Palace, with the venerable chapel, and its painted episcopalities in glass, and the brave hall, etc., etc. Though it rained I would crawl to Bonner's chair.' He sent sixty-four *Ghosts* to the authoress, and one copy on brown paper; of this he amusingly writes: 'There is but one more such, so you may preserve it like a relic. I know these two are not so good as the white, but as rarities a collector would give ten times more for them, and *uniquity* will make them valued more than the charming poetry.'[1]

The Strawberry Hill Press was in work from 1757 to 1797, or forty years in all. Little of any importance however was printed after 1789, but it is well to remember that the Press was a practical printing-house, where all kinds of printing were done, from labels and cards to books of many pages. It would be of little interest to mention all the fugitive pieces which were printed, but note may be made of a few. One of Walpole's favourite amusements was to print off some verses in honour of his most distinguished guests, in which the Press is supposed to address them. He did this for several years, and he began the practice almost immediately after the printing-office was started. In August, 1757, the Countess of Rochford (Lucy Young), the Viscountess Townshend, and Miss Bland visited Strawberry Hill. When they

[1] Walpole's *Letters*, ix. 196.

entered the composing-room Lady Townshend was presented with the following lines:—

THE PRESS SPEAKS

'From me wits and poets their glory obtain;
Without me their wit and their verses were vain.
Stop, Townshend, and let me but print what you say;
You, the fame I on others bestow will repay.'

The ladies then wished to see the compositor set up his type, so Walpole gave him four lines out of Rowe's *Fair Penitent*. The printer set to work, and when he had his four lines ready Walpole drew away the attention of the ladies, and the compositor whipped off what he had set up and printed instead from the type he had prepared beforehand. So when Lady Rochford received the paper, instead of reading 'Were ye, ye fair,' she found these lines—

THE PRESS SPEAKS

'In vain from your properest name you have flown,
And exchanged lovely Cupid's for Hymen's dull throne;
By my art shall your beauties be constantly sung,
And, in spite of yourself, you shall ever be *young*.'

At various times verses were printed in honour of the visits of Lord Chesterfield, the King of Sweden, distinguished Frenchwomen, etc. On October 11, 1788, the Misses Berry made a visit, and the following verses were prepared for them:

THE PRESS AT STRAWBERRY HILL TO MISS MARY AND MISS AGNES BERRY

'To Mary's lips has ancient Rome
Her purest language taught;
And from the modern city home
Agnes its pencil brought.

Rome's ancient Horace sweetly chants,
Such maids with lyric fire;
Albion's old Horace sings nor paints . . .
He only can admire.

Still wou'd his press their fame record,
So amiable the pair is!
But ah! how vain to think *his* word
Can add a straw to Berrys!'

On December 22, 1790, H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence visited Strawberry Hill, and twelve lines of verse addressed to him were printed there.

Cards to view the house, labels for objects in the collection, and rules for visitors were among the fugitive pieces. The rules which Horace Walpole laid down for the regulation of the supply of tickets are very quaint, and are here printed from a copy in the British Museum, 816 $\frac{k\,1}{143}$:—

'Mr. Walpole is very ready to oblige any curious Persons with the sight of his house and collections, but as it is situated so near to London and in so populous a neighbourhood, and as he refuses a ticket to nobody that sends for one, it is but reasonable that such persons as send, should comply with the rules he has been obliged to lay down for showing it.

'Any Person sending a day or two before, may have a ticket for four persons for a day certain.

'No ticket will serve but on the day for which it is given. If more than four persons come with a ticket, the Housekeeper has positive orders to admit none of them.

'Every ticket will admit the company only between the hours of twelve and three before dinner, and only one company will be admitted on the same day.

'The house will not be shown after dinner, nor at all but from the first of May to the first of October.

'As Mr. Walpole has given offence by sometimes enlarging the number of four, and refusing that latitude to others, he flatters himself that for the future nobody will take it ill that he strictly confines the number, as whoever desires him to break his rule does in effect expect him to disoblige others, which is what nobody has a right to desire of him.

'Persons desiring a ticket may apply either to Strawberry Hill or to Mr. Walpole in Berkeley Square, London. If any person does not make use of the ticket, Mr. Walpole hopes he shall have notice; otherwise he is prevented from obliging others on that day, and thence is put to great inconvenience.

'They who have tickets are desired not to bring children.'

One of the labels is of interest as intended for

the china tub for holding gold-fish, in which Selina, Walpole's favourite cat, was drowned, and which Gray immortalised by his famous ode. This cat's vase sold at the Strawberry Hill sale for £42, and was bought by the Earl of Derby. A set of all the detached and small pieces printed at the Strawberry Hill Press in boards, and a volume containing a correct list of every book printed at the Press, sold for only thirty shillings at the Strawberry Hill sale.

Kirgate was allowed to print on his own account, and he printed title-pages for Daniel Lysons's 'Collectanea, or a Collection of Advertisements and Paragraphs from the Newspapers,' cards for himself and for his friend Silvester Harding, 'miniature Painter and Engraver, No. 127 Pall Mall,' etc. etc. He had a complete collection of these trifles (upwards of sixty in number), which were sold at his sale in 1810 for sixteen pounds. In October 1797, after Walpole's death, Kirgate printed four stanzas of six lines each, signed T. K., which are entitled 'The Printer's Farewell to Strawberry Hill.' These verses were really written by Silvester Harding.

Kirgate does not appear to have been well treated, for though he was in Walpole's service for thirty-two years and acted as a faithful attendant, he was only left £100. Harding describes him as 'forlorn, neglected, and forgot.'[1] Dibdin mentions Kirgate in his *Bibliographical Decameron* (vol. iii.

[1] The man to whom is due so much good printing should, we think, have had a notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The copy of the Catalogue of Kirgate's Books, Prints, and Curiosities, sold by King and Lochée on December 10, 1810, and nine following days, in the British Museum Library, contains a portrait of Kirgate and a view of the printing-house, both reproduced (the latter much reduced) as a frontispiece to this article. The proprietor is styled on the title-page: 'Mr. Thomas Kirgate of Vine Street, Piccadilly (deceased), well known for his assiduous exertions for upwards of thirty years as printer to the late Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, at Strawberry Hill.'

p. 451) where he writes: 'I remember visiting Kirgate, who lived at the east end of Pall Mall, not long before his decease. I was pretty earnest in my inquiries, but he was utterly destitute of all typographical enthusiasm, not a spark of Paul Manutius, Oporinus, or Froben seems to have ever animated his bosom. He wore a brown curled wig, talked sparingly but bitterly of Walpole's unkind treatment of him, and was civil to excess.'

Walpole was often kind and generous, but he was not happy in his dealings with his dependents. We have seen how Robinson was parted with; Muntz, the clever artist, was dismissed when his employer was tired of him; and Richard Bentley, the son of the great Master of Trinity, who made designs to six of Gray's poems, which delighted the poet, and assisted Walpole in the production of his books and the designing of his villa, lost the friendship of his patron because he insisted on his wife being invited when he went into company.

Walpole's character was not altogether estimable, but it is not fair to ignore his many good qualities as Macaulay did in the cruel portrait he painted. In spite of all the defamation that has been heaped upon him, it is impossible to overlook the remarkable consistency with which he worked through life on the lines laid down by himself at the beginning. He took an accurate measure of his own powers, and never attempted more than he could perform. He was considered effeminate in his own day because he devoted himself to the collection of things of beauty, with great taste and judgment, but now his prescience is justified. The sale at Strawberry Hill in 1842 created a great sensation, but in 1896 it would create a still greater one, and the contents of Walpole's 'castle'

would now probably sell for at least four times as much as the thirty-three thousand pounds then realised.

H. B. Wheatley.

SHORT LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS PRINTED AT STRAWBERRY HILL

1757. Odes by Mr. Gray.

∵ 1000 copies printed.

1757. Hentzner's Journey into England.

∵ 220 copies printed. A copy of Hentzner with copy of Fugitive Pieces (1758), extra illustrated, sold for £2, 18s. at the Strawberry Hill sale.

1758. Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors. Two vols.

∵ 300 copies printed. A second edition of the book was published by the Dodsleys in December of the same year (but dated 1759); 2000 copies were printed, but not at Strawberry Hill.

1758. Lord Whitworth's Account of Russia in 1710.

∵ Eight copies of this with five copies of the Letter to the Editor of Chatterton's *Miscellanies* (1779), sold for thirty shillings at the Strawberry Hill sale.

1758. Spence's Parallel in the Manner of Plutarch.

∵ 700 copies printed; 600 were sold by the Dodsleys in a fortnight for the benefit of Mr. Hill. It was then reprinted in London.

1758. Fugitive Pieces in verse and prose.

∵ 200 copies printed.

1760. Catalogue of Pictures and Drawings in the Holbein Chamber.

1760. Catalogue of the Collections of Pictures of

the Duke of Devonshire, General Guise, and the late Sir Paul Methuen.

∴ Twelve copies printed on one side only.

1760. Lucani Pharsalia.

∴ 500 copies printed. Edited by Richard Bentley, the younger, followed by Richard Cumberland. This is the largest volume and one of the most beautiful of those printed at the Press.

1762. Anecdotes of Painting in England, vols. i. ii. (1762), iii. (1763), iv. (1780).

∴ 600 copies printed. The first three volumes were printed by Farmer, and a second edition of them was printed at Strawberry Hill by Kirgate in 1765. The fourth volume was not published till 1780. The cancelled preface is dated St. Luke's day, October 18, 1773; that to the volume as published is dated October 1, 1780.

1763. Catalogue of Engravers.

∴ 600 copies printed.

1764. Poems by Anna Chambers, Countess Temple.

∴ 100 copies printed.

1764. The Magpie and her Brood.

∴ 45 copies with 50 copies of 'Houghton Hare Hunting' and 'Prosperity to Houghton' fetched one guinea at the Strawberry Hill sale.

1764. Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

∴ 200 copies printed. One copy fetched £1, 18s. at the Strawberry Hill sale, and another copy, extra illustrated and with MS. notes, £7, 17s. 6d.

1768. Cornélie, Vestale. Tragédie.

∴ 200 copies printed; 150 were sent to the Author (President Hénault) in Paris.

1768. The Mysterious Mother: a Tragedy.

∴ Only 50 copies printed, and this is one of the scarcest of the pieces.

1769. Poems by the Rev. Mr. Hoyland.

∴ 300 copies printed.

1770. Reply to the Observations of the Rev. Dr. Milles [on Richard III.].

∵ 6 copies printed.

1770. Walpole's Works, vols. i. and ii.

1772. Copies of Seven Original Letters from Edward VI. to Barnaby Fitzpatrick.

∵ 200 copies printed; 8 copies sold for thirty-five shillings at the Strawberry Hill sale.

1772. Miscellaneous Antiquities, Nos. i. and ii.

∵ 500 copies printed.

1772. Mémoires du Comte de Grammont.

∵ 100 copies printed, and 30 of these sent to Paris. A copy, extra illustrated and with MS. notes, sold for £16, 5s. 6d. at the Strawberry Hill sale.

1774. Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole.

∵ 100 copies; 200 of a new edition printed in 1784.

1775. Dorinda: a Town Eclogue.

∵ 300 copies printed.

1778. The Sleep Walker: a Comedy.

∵ 75 copies printed.

1779. Letter to the Editor of the Miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton.

∵ 200 copies printed.

1780. To the Lady Horatia Waldegrave.

∵ 150 copies printed; 18 copies sold for 25 shillings at the Strawberry Hill sale.

1781. The Muse Recalled by William Jones, Esq. [afterwards Sir William Jones].

∵ 250 copies printed.

1781. Letter from the Hon. Thomas Walpole.

∵ 120 copies printed.

1785. Hieroglyphic Tales [5].

∵ Six copies printed, besides the revised copy. There is an imperfect copy (made up of proofs, corrected in MS.) in

the British Museum Library. A copy bound with the Sleep Walker, Hoyland's Poems, Walpole's Account of the Giants, and Catalogue of the Duke of Devonshire's pictures, etc., sold for seven guineas at the Strawberry Hill sale. A copy sold at Kirgate's sale in 1810 for £16; another, bound by Roger Payne in red morocco, sold at the Earl of Orford's sale (June 11, 1895) for £37. This had an autograph slip of the author pasted on the title-page: 'A Strawberry edition to be delivered after my death to Richard Bull, Esq., of Stratton Street.—H.W.'

These Tales are reprinted in the collected edition of Walpole's Works, vol. iv., and separately at Newcastle, by Emerson Charnley, in 1822.

1785. Essay on Modern Gardening.

∴ 400 copies printed, with English and French on opposite pages. A copy, extra illustrated and with MS. notes, sold for £2, 5s. at the Strawberry Hill sale. The original MS. of the Duc de Nivernois' translation into French, described by Walpole as 'a most exquisite specimen of penmanship,' sold at the same sale for £4, 14s. 6d.

1789. Bishop Bonner's Ghost.

∴ 96 copies said to be printed, two on brown paper, but we can account for more than 120, thus:—26 copies were sold for thirty shillings at the Strawberry Hill sale; 30 copies went to Bishop Porteus, and 64 to the authoress, besides some others sent out by Walpole.

1789. The History of Alcidalis and Zelida.

'The Mistakes or the Happy Resentment' is stated on the title-page to be printed at London, by S. Richardson in the year 1758; but, in Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*, it is said to have been printed at Strawberry Hill, and Yardley, a bookseller, is said to have confirmed the statement by asserting 'that he assisted in printing it at that Press.'

Lowndes also gives the following title:—'The Impenetrable Secret: A game intended by H. W. Printed at Strawberry Hill.' 24mo.

H. B. W.

NOTES ON EARLY MUSIC PRINTING

I

WHILE almost every other branch of the study of bibliography has of late attracted attention, the history of music-printing has so far remained almost entirely neglected. Something, indeed, may be gleaned from articles scattered up and down Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, and a considerable amount of material is to be found in the pages of the *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte*, and the (now defunct) *Viertel-Jahrsschrift für Musik-Wissenschaft*; but these works fall more in the way of musicians than of average book-men, with whom music-printing is still, so to say, the Cinderella of Bibliography. Dr. Chrysander alone has approached the subject in the scientific spirit which it demands, but his papers in the *Musical Times* for 1877 and the *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* for 1879 were but little more than sketches, masterly indeed in their broad outlines, but requiring a great deal of research before the details could be filled in with anything like completeness. Various reasons may account for this neglect. The tendency of modern bibliographers is more and more towards the study of special subjects and limited periods in the history of printing, and the epochs which appeal to them more particularly and in which research is most remunerative are those in which the art of printing musical notes was still undeveloped. It is not

until the beginning of the fifteenth century that printing was applied to the reproduction of anything more important than the plain-song of Service Books, and even for long after this the art remained, in such countries as England and Spain, very far behind the progress made by other branches of typography.

In England, at least, traditions die hard, and the old habit of looking upon music as a rather effeminate amusement is still to be found flourishing vigorously in many of our libraries, where musical works are generally relegated to some obscure and forgotten corner, or, as was done in the original shelf-classification of the British Museum, distributed indiscriminately in the cases reserved for sports, games, and pastimes, so that the elaborate treatises of such writers as Gafurius, Aron, Praetorius, Glareanus, Morley, and many others, may still be seen jostling such books as Pierce Egan's *Anecdotes*, the *Stud-Book*, and *Round Games for all Parties*. But signs are not wanting that this state of things is coming to an end. In Germany during the last ten years an immense amount of good work has been done in the investigation of the musical treasures hidden in the dusty church-libraries and archives of the country. In England attention is beginning to be drawn to the remains —alas! too scanty—of the school of English composers which flourished among us in the fourteenth century, and any one who watches the prices paid in auction-rooms for old books cannot fail to be struck by the extraordinary rise in value which has quite recently taken place in musical works of the sixteenth or seventeenth century—a rise so rapid, that where a book a few years ago could have been bought for a few shillings, it often cannot

be acquired now for three times the same number of pounds.

More by way of drawing attention to various points in the printing of early music-books which deserve investigation than to offer any original matter, the following few notes on the subject may, under the circumstances, be not uninteresting to the readers of *Bibliographica*.

II

It is a fact not sufficiently recognised that the state of the art of music in the latter part of the fifteenth century and the slow development of musical typography previous to the year 1500 mutually influenced each other. Taking roughly the date 1465 as that when printing began to any appreciable extent to supersede manuscript, we find that the three great masters from whom modern music sprang, John Dunstable, Gilles Binchois, and Guillaume Dufay, died respectively at London in 1453, at Lille in 1460, and at Cambray in 1474. It is noticeable that the eldest of these, who is now generally recognised as the head of the first body of musicians which has any claim to be considered a school, was an Englishman, and, as far as is known, worked entirely in England, a country which felt the influence of the growth of typography comparatively late. We now know that Dunstable was by no means a solitary figure in the history of musical development. The names of men who were his contemporaries in this country have come to light in various manuscript collections of music which have been recently discovered, chief among which may be named the remarkable series of volumes unearthed at Trent a few years ago, the collections preserved

in the Liceo Musicale at Bologna, and a splendid volume in the Estensian Library at Modena. All these documents date from the first half of the fifteenth century, and a cursory study of them is sufficient to show that at that time there existed a school of musicians which had carried the art of composition much farther than is usually suspected. The tendency of this school towards an extreme elaboration of technicality, at a time when ingenuity was rated higher than musical effect, is well shown by the way in which music developed in the elaborate compositions of the succeeding age. The intricate notation, rendered still more incomprehensible by the bewildering use of puzzle-canons, which can hardly be deciphered in these days by the most experienced musical antiquaries, was carried to such a pitch that by the beginning of the fifteenth century music had become an art that must even then have seemed the hidden language of a very small body of trained specialists. It was just at the time when printing came first generally into use that this state of things reached its highest pitch, and there can be but small wonder that the early printers, called upon to face eminently practical problems, were deterred from dealing with what to the mass of men must have seemed almost as incomprehensible a system of notation as it does to the ordinary musician of the present day. Another reason why musical typography made such slow progress is that at this period music was chiefly, if not entirely, devoted to the service of the church. For the purposes of the ordinary ecclesiastic, whose musical talents were called into use principally for the execution of plain-chant, there was no demand for printed reproductions of the ornate musical settings of the parts of the service intrusted to

FIG. 1.—CHORAL SINGING IN PARTS FROM A SINGLE BOOK.
FROM *PRACTICA MUSICÆ*, BY FRANCHINUS GAFURIUS, VENICE, 1512

the choir. Plain-chant has from time immemorial been remarkable for its unchangeable character. A single stave of four or five lines is sufficient to hold the notes sung by the priest, and the printing of this required no technical knowledge such as would have been indispensable if the elaborate polyphonic music of the day had been set up in type. The problem of how a body of singers were to sing at the same time different sets of notes, in other words, how part-singing (fig. 1) was to be accomplished from printed music, must have been alone a hard nut to crack, and the very small demand there could have been for this kind of music, the execution of which was the secret of a small body of men, is by itself sufficient to explain why it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that printers began to turn their attention to the solution of the difficulty. The result, therefore, was what might have been expected. Practically, until the time of Petrucci, music-printing was confined to the reproduction of plain-chant in service-books, and even in these it was often found a simpler and more convenient plan to leave the music to be written in by hand, a custom which lasted in Spain until late in the sixteenth century. It is, perhaps, useless to guess what would have been the result if either printing had been invented fifty years earlier, or the art of writing polyphonic music had developed on different lines after its origin in England in the early fifteenth century. All that we can be sure of is that much early English music, the very existence of which has been until lately questioned, would have been preserved to us, and we should know more than we do now about the mysterious beginnings of the art.

III

The methods of reproducing Plain-chant adopted in the earliest times may be summarised as follows:—

1. Blank spaces left for the music (both lines and notes) to be filled in by hand.
2. Printed lines with notes in manuscript.
3. Stamped notes, lines in manuscript.
4. Stamped notes on printed lines.
5. Printed notes and printed lines.

Though, generally speaking, the above classification represents the various stages of progress in

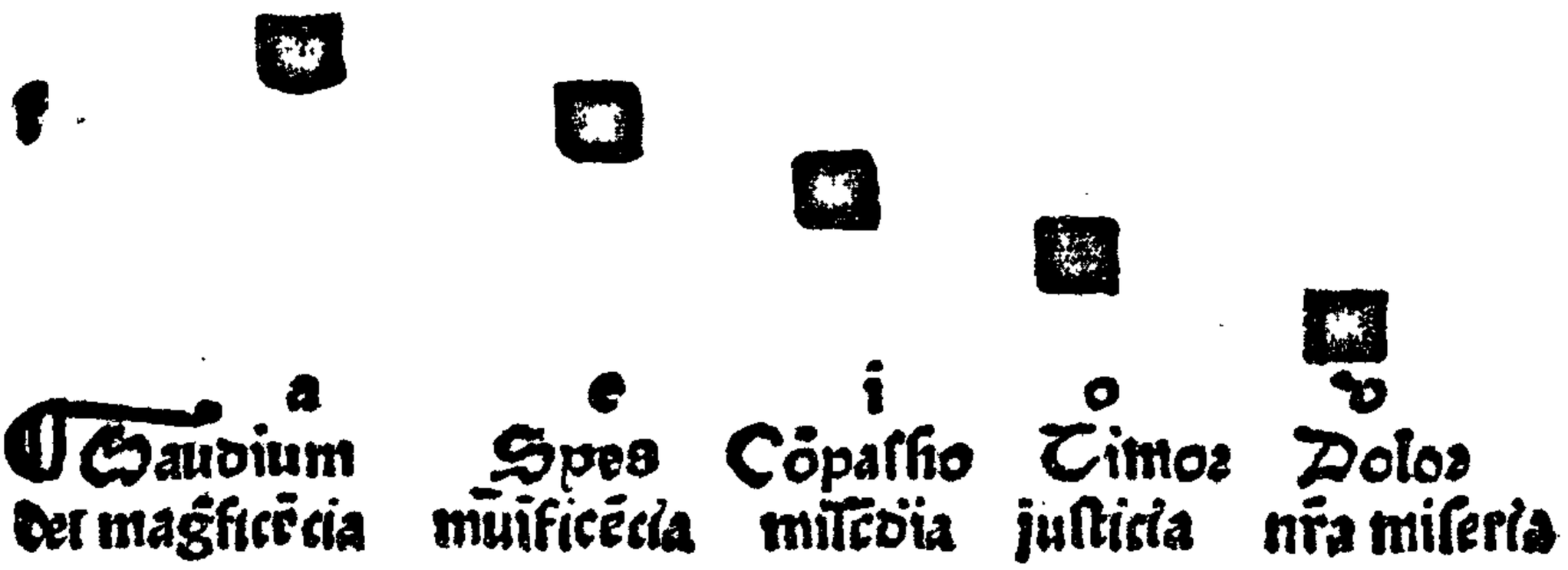


FIG. 2.—THE FIRST PRINTED MUSICAL NOTES. FROM *COLLECTORIUM SUPER MAGNIFICAT*, BY JEAN CHARLIER DE GERSON, ESSLINGEN, 1473-7

early music-printing, it must be remembered that all five methods were more or less in use at the same time, and it was not until the sixteenth century that the last of the five completely and definitely ousted all the others. Thus Schöffer's Mentz Psalter of 1502 had only got as far as the printed-line stage, the notes being written by hand, although a very high degree of perfection in printing both notes and lines had already been achieved by Octavianus Scotus at Venice, so far back as 1482.

Actually the earliest book known to exist containing printed musical notes is the *Collectorium super Magnificat* of Gerson, which was printed at Esslingen, by Conrad Fyner, in 1473. The music in this work is confined to one short passage (fig. 2), in which the notes are printed by means of stamps, leaving the lines to be filled in by hand, their proper position being indicated by the printed clef signature on the left side of the page.

The men who, as far as can be ascertained from the present state of our knowledge of the subject, made the most striking advance in the method of printing Plain-song were Octavianus Scotus at Venice, Erhardt Ratdolt at Augsburg, and Michael Wenssler and Jacob de Kilchen at Basel. With regard to the first named, the published descriptions of his Roman Missal, printed at Venice in December 1481, do not say whether it contains any, or if so what kind of, musical notation, but the Dominican Missal which he printed in December 1482—copies of which are in the British Museum and Mr. A. H. Littleton's library—contains passages of Plain-song in Latin musical notation (*i.e.* square-headed notes), in which the black notes have been printed first, from movable types, and the red lines are printed above. It is rather remarkable that Ratdolt, in the edition of his 'Gran Missal,' printed at Venice in 1486, should not have adopted Scotus' plan, but in this work—a copy of which was at the Music Loan Exhibition at South Kensington in 1885—though the staves are printed, the notes were left to be filled in by hand. This is the more curious because in the first book issued from his Augsburg press—an *Obsequiale*—the colophon of which is dated Calends Feb. 1487, he printed the music in Gothic

notation from type, the red lines being printed first and the black notes afterwards.

Even more important, owing to their size and elaboration, are the liturgical works printed by Jacob de Kilchen and Michael Wenssler at Basel in 1488; and as no copies of either their *Gradual* or *Agenda* were exhibited in the splendid collection brought together at the Vienna Exhibition of 1892, nor does so learned an investigator as Dr. Chrysander seem to have known the former, and mentions the latter only from hearsay, it may not be superfluous to devote rather more attention to these books and their printers than would otherwise have been necessary in these brief notes.

IV

In assigning the credit of a distinct progress in the printing of music to Wenssler and Kilchen, it is rather doubtful whether they are both entitled to an equal amount of praise. Their names are only found together as associates in the *Agenda* and *Gradual* of 1488, but from a Dominican Breviary printed at Basel in 1492, it would seem that Kilchen (or Kirchen) may have been simply a publisher. On the other hand, it is a significant fact that Wenssler by himself printed a Cologne Missal in 1487, and a Basel Missal, the colophon of which is dated 15 Kal. April 1488, in both of which works the spaces for musical notation are left to be filled in by hand; while the *Gradual* and the *Agenda*, in both of which he was associated with Kilchen, are dated respectively 4 Id. March 1488 and 4 Id. May of the same year. Much more is known about Michael Wenssler than about the

obscure Jacobus de Kilchen. A native of Strassburg, he obtained the rights of a citizen of Basel in 1473, and from the following year until 1491, either alone, or with different associates, he issued from his press a respectable list of books, the titles of which may be found in the pages of Panzer or Hain. In 1490 (according to Stockmeyer and Reber's *Beiträge zur Basler Buchdruckergeschichte*) he had to sell all his printing materials to one Jacob Steinacher, who had lent him money; for another debt his house was sold in the following year. But though the record of this failure states explicitly that he parted with all his type, etc., either by some arrangement with his creditors or by some unexplained means, he was able for a time to continue his craft, for in 1491 he printed two editions of Armandus' *De Declaratione difficilium Terminorum*, and in June 1493 appears at Cluny as the printer of a Cluniac Missal, 'plus affectu devotionis quam lucrandi causa,' as he pathetically states in the colophon. In the following March he printed a *Diurnale* at Macon, and in 1495, as 'Michael de Basilea,' issued two books at Lyons, after which no more is heard of him. That he brought with him to France some, at least, of his old Basel type is proved by his Cluniac Missal—a copy of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. In this much of the type is identical with that used by him in Switzerland, though he seems to have procured a new fount for most of the large capital letters, some of which are very curious in design. The absence from this book of any musical notation is remarkable, and certainly points to Kilchen as the owner of the music-type used at Basel in 1488, though the fact must not be overlooked that the Gothic musical notation of the *Gradual* and *Agenda*

would have been quite unsuitable for a book intended for a French Benedictine community.

Mention may here be made of two undated missals, the types of which point to their having been printed either by Wenssler or by some printer who used his types. The first of these is a Sarum book, issued without date, name of printer, or place of printing, containing the music in Latin notation, printed from type in a very finished style. The shape of the music-type in this work almost points to its having been executed in France, as there does not seem to be any instance of this notation being used in Germany, though it is possible, on the other hand, that it may have been adopted in consequence of the book being intended for the Sarum use, just as Liechtenstein used Gothic notation at Venice in works intended for Germany, and Hopyl adopted a similar plan at Paris in his Utrecht Missal of 1507. The very elegantly shaped 'directs' at the ends of the lines may possibly give a clue to the origin of the music-type in this interesting volume.

The other missal printed with Wenssler's types is that for the diocese of Treves, ascribed incorrectly by Dr. Henner (*Das Missale der Trierischen Erzdiöcese im* 15. *und* 16. *Jahrhundert*) to Michael Furter. Like the Sarum book, this is without date, printer's name, or place of imprint. The type is the same as that used by Wenssler at Basel and (in part at least) at Cluny, and the beginning of the canon of the mass contains the elaborate capital T which is to be found in the Sarum Missal. It differs from the latter in the absence of any printed music, the lines only being inserted, while the notes are filled in by hand. Whether these two books —copies of both of which are to be found in the British Museum—are to be ascribed to Wenssler,

or to some printer who acquired his type, is a point which cannot, for the present at least, be decided with certainty.

For our present purpose, the great importance of Wenssler and Kilchen, from a typographical point of view, is that their music is printed from movable types, probably of metal, and that they thus at Basel achieved for Plain-chant what Scotus had done at Venice, with Latin notation, six years earlier, and what Petrucci did eleven years later for figured music. The shape of their types is, of course, a long way behind the elegance which distinguishes those of their Venetian successor, though even here, oddly enough, they seem to have been on the right track, as witness the black semibreves they use in the Glorias and two of the three Creeds to be found in the Masses for the Feasts of the Blessed Virgin, which are curiously like the lozenge-shaped crotchets of later music-printers. But with these exceptions their type was thoroughly Gothic in character, and reproduces with fidelity such forms as the clivis, the virga, and other signs which were peculiar to Gothic neums (fig. 3). It is impossible to say with certainty whether Wenssler and Kilchen used metal or wood for their types, but to judge by the deep indentations produced on the paper, and by the manner in which the types have taken the ink, the balance of probability is decidedly in favour of the former material. The printing was a double one, but (like Scotus before them) they printed the notes first, in black, and the lines in red afterwards, a process which must have been extremely difficult to carry out correctly. Of the *Gradual* of 1488 the British Museum possesses two editions, only one of which is dated. Though the method of printing and the type used are the same in both editions,

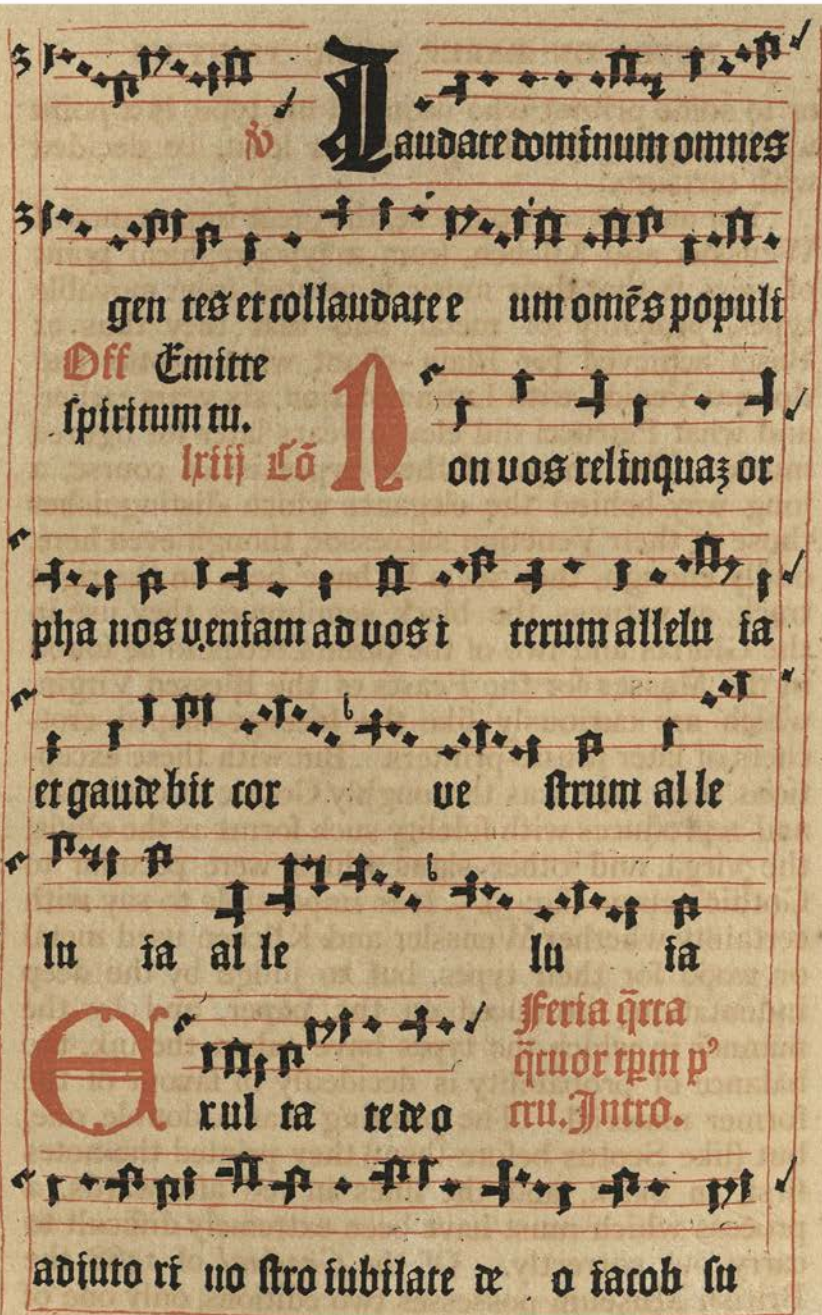

℣ Laudate dominum omnes
gen tes et collaudate e um omēs populi
Off Ēmitte
spiritum tu.
Ipiij Lō
on vos relinquaz or
pha nos veniam ad vos i terum allelu ia
et gaudebit cor ue strum al le
lu ia al le lu ia
Feria q̄rta
q̄tuor tpm p̄
cru. Intro.
rul ta te o
adiuto ri no stro iubilate e o iacob su

FIG. 3.—REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF WENSSLER AND KILCHEN'S *BASEL GRADUAL*, 1488

a comparison of the two shows many differences in the arrangement and setting-up of the work. The colophon of the dated copy runs as follows :—

'Anno a partu virginis Millesimo quadringen / tesimo octuagesīo octauo . Quarto Idus Marcij / Sanctissimo in christo patre ac domino . domino / Innocentio octauo . pontifice maximo . Illustris / simo nobilissīe domus Austrie Friderico Roma- / norum Impatore gloriosissīo . Et filio eius Max / imilião Romanorum rege inuictissimo . Sancte / catholice ecclesie gubernacula tenētibus Nobili / vero Caspare de Rheno vrbis Basiliensis geren / te episcopatum. Finitū est hoc opus preclarū . et / in vrbe prenominata Basiliensis foeliciter elabo- / ratum . Ingenio et impensis spectatissimorum vi / rorum Michaelis vuenszler et Iacobi de Kilchen / vrbis prenomīate ciuium . Opus profecto omni / um indicio laudatissimuz . et cunctipotentis lau / dibus . quo notarū illa male antiquata dissonā- / tia hac sui diffusiua et quidē regulata vniformi- / tate . e medio tollitur . congruentissimum. /'

The other known work printed by Wenssler and Kilchen is an *Agenda*, of which a copy, probably unique, is to be found in the library of Mr. A. H. Littleton. This work presents exactly the same characteristics as the *Gradual*. The musical notation is Gothic, with black notes and red lines, the former having been printed first from movable type and the latter printed afterwards. As the book was exhibited at the Music and Inventions Exhibition of 1885, and a description of it with a facsimile page (unfortunately only in black) is to be found in Mr. Weale's Catalogue, there is no occasion to refer to it more fully here.

V

To print the Plain-song in a legible manner was comparatively simple, but for Figured Music a very elaborate and artificial system of notation was in use at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, and to reproduce this in type

was a far more difficult matter than to print the simpler series of notes required for the services of the church. The use of ligatures, those combinations of notes sung to one syllable, which are so bewildering to modern musicians, must alone have been a great stumbling-block, and, in addition to these, the questions had to be faced of how the signs of Prolation, Mode, and Time, the very important effects of colour, and a thousand other difficulties, were to be represented in type. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that no satisfactory method of printing figured music was arrived at until a tendency towards a simplified musical notation had set in. There can be but little doubt that this was much encouraged when movable type began to be used for printing figured music, and that though Petrucci can no longer be considered the actual inventor of movable music-type, his method and that of his successors and imitators had an appreciable effect on furthering the simplification of the general system of musical notation which set in with the beginning of the sixteenth century. Previous to this the only means by which music in several parts could be printed was by the cumbrous and expensive plan of using specially-cut wooden blocks. According to Chrysander, the first work in which this system was adopted was produced at Augsburg by Hans Froschauer in 1473, but unfortunately the learned author, who is generally so unimpeachable in his statements, neglects to give the name of the book in which this musical notation occurs, and as neither Panzer nor Hain records any book printed by Froschauer prior to 1481 (and even this date is doubtful), the evidence must, for the present, be regarded as unsatisfactory. With regard to a work printed at Bologna, by Ugo de Rugeriis in 1487, we are on

much surer ground. In this, the *Musices Opusculum* of Nicolaus Burtius, a collection of three musical tracts, the musical examples are all printed, rudely enough, from wooden blocks. The first tract gives three examples of musical notation: the Hymn 'Ut queant laxis,' printed on a five-line stave; seven ascending hexachords in eleven lines, and twenty-one ascending tetrachords on a similar stave (fig. 4).

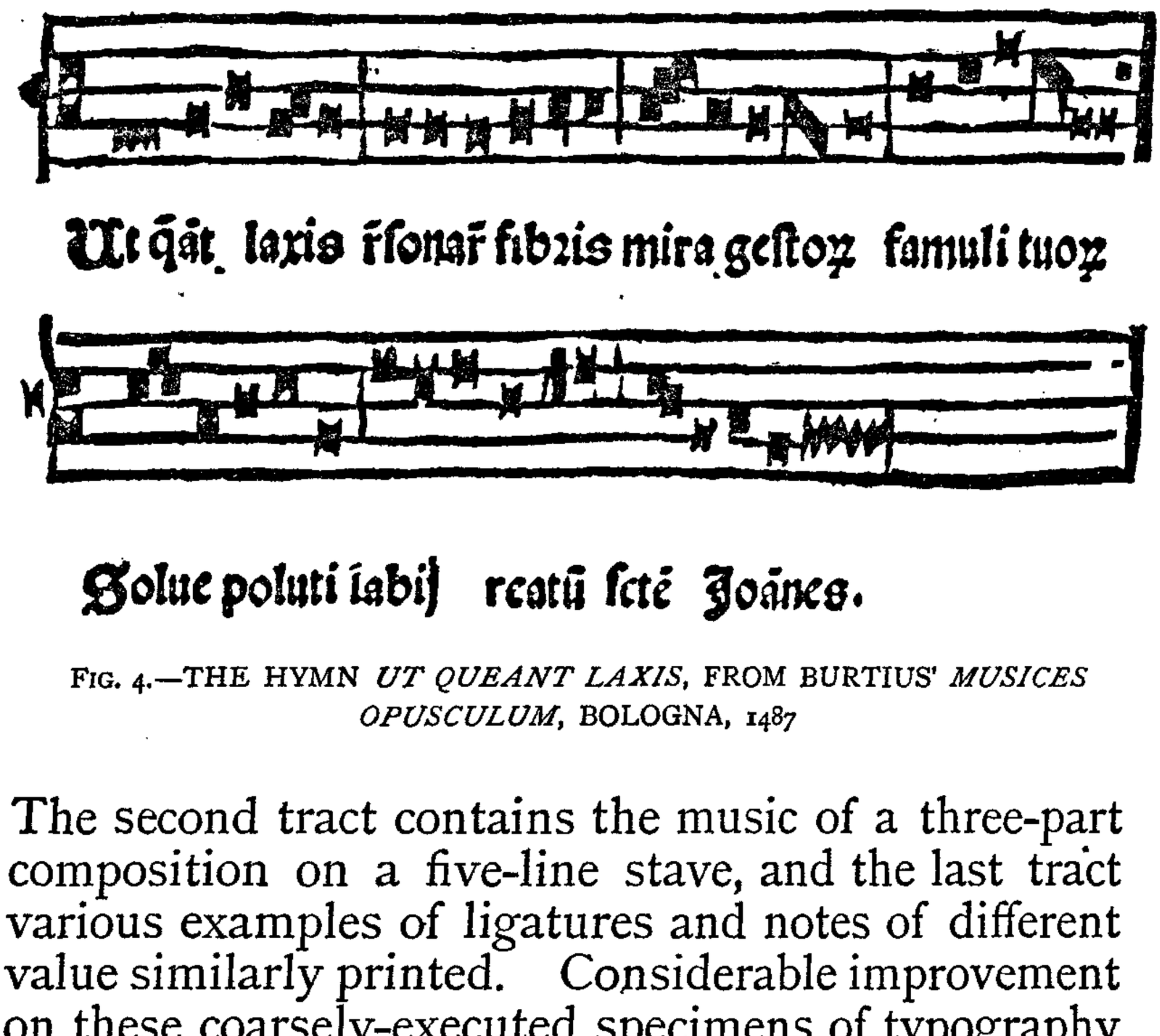


FIG. 4.—THE HYMN *UT QUEANT LAXIS*, FROM BURTIUS' *MUSICES OPUSCULUM*, BOLOGNA, 1487

The second tract contains the music of a three-part composition on a five-line stave, and the last tract various examples of ligatures and notes of different value similarly printed. Considerable improvement on these coarsely-executed specimens of typography was achieved by the German, French, and Netherlandist successors of Ugo de Rugeriis, and the system, inconvenient as it was, continued in use even after Petrucci's improvements had been generally adopted. Perhaps the most elaborate example of it is to be found in a very rare collection of woodcuts, verses, and music, in honour of the

Emperor Maximilian, printed at Antwerp, by Jan de Gheet in 1515, the only known copies of which are to be found in the British Museum and the Stadts-bibliothek of Hamburg; but the method of printing survived throughout the sixteenth century and even later, and examples of it may be found in Morley's

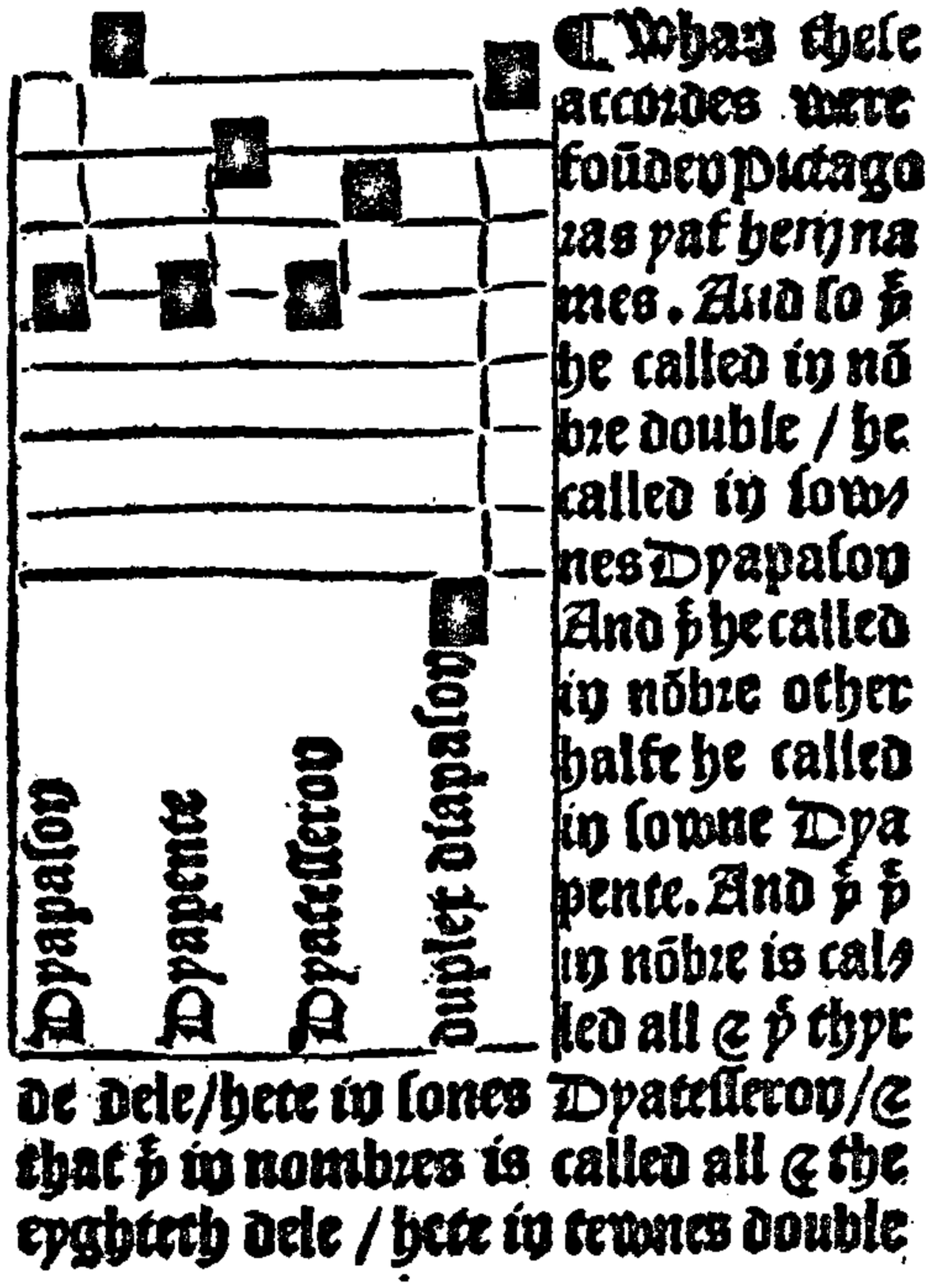


FIG. 5.—THE FIRST MUSIC PRINTED IN ENGLAND, FROM HIGDEN'S *POLYCHRONICON*, WESTMINSTER, 1495

Plain and Easy Introduction, used simultaneously with a fount of music-type very little differing from that to which we are accustomed at the present day. Block-printed music reached its highest pitch of perfection in the Lutheran Hymn-Books of the first half of the sixteenth century, in some of which a really remarkable degree of elegance was achieved.

Though the consideration of music-printing in England hardly falls within the period with which these notes deal, it may perhaps be of interest to mention that the first instance of its use occurs in Wynkyn de Worde's edition of Higden's *Polychronicon*, printed at Westminster in 1495. In Book III. chap. 11 will be found an account of the origin of the consonances of Pythagoras, to which is appended a musical illustration (fig. 5). In Caxton's 1482 edition of the book this was left to be filled in by hand, but Wynkyn de Worde gives the notes in rude and incorrect printing, apparently using a combination of wood-block and stamps. In his 1527 edition the example is entirely from block, and three years later he issued the beautifully printed Book of English Songs (fig. 6), of which unfortunately only a bass part and a leaf of the treble exist.

VI

From what has already been said it will be seen that the claim made for Petrucci to be considered the inventor of movable music-types must be abandoned once for all. How the claim arose it is rather difficult to ascertain, for he certainly did not bring it forward himself, nor is it to be found in the earliest references to him that have so far come to light. His biographer, Anton Schmid, to whom is due the credit of first drawing attention to the remarkable character of the Fossombrone printer's achievements, mentions incidentally a medal struck in his honour, with an inscription in which occur the words 'plumbeis typis inventis,' but Schmid's description is exceedingly vague, and no other record of the existence of this medal seems to exist;

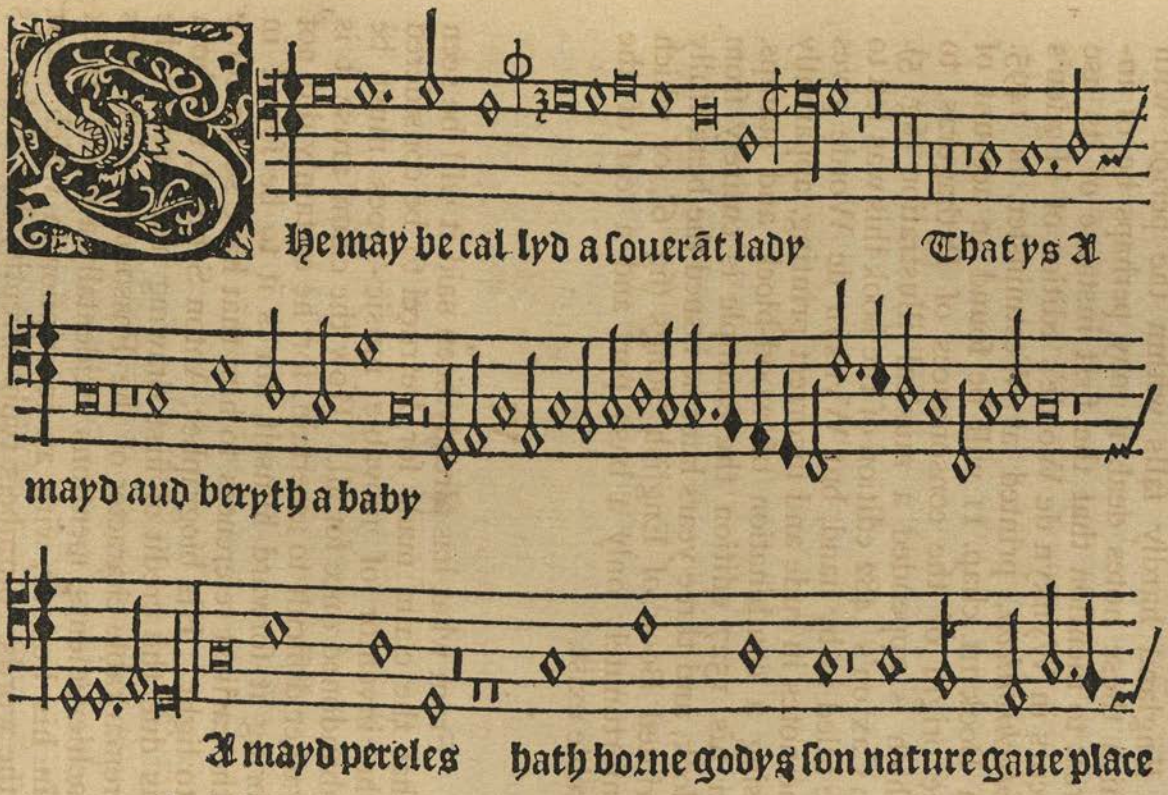


FIG. 6.—FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF THE BASS PART OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S *BOOK OF ENGLISH SONGS*, LONDON, 1530

if it does, it has escaped the notice of such industrious searchers as Armand and Blades. In an extension of Petrucci's privilege, granted by the Venetian Signoria in 1514, he is described as 'Primo Inventor de stampar librj de canto figurado,' and Schmid also quotes a volume of Lute Tablature, by Francesco da Milano, dated 1536, in the preface to which it is stated that, 'Il mondo è tenuto di grande obligo al Fossombrone inventore de lo stampare le intavolature ne la maniera che si imprimono i libri.' Another important early allusion to him is to be found in the 'De Ludo Scacchorum' of his countryman, Thomas Actius, who, writing in 1583, quotes a work by Vincentius Castellanus 'doctissimus preceptor meus in humanioribus litteris,' and himself a native of Fossombrone, 'ubi refert Octavianum Petrutium Forosemproniensem adeò valuisse ingenio, et usu, ut primus omnium excogitarit rationem ad imprimendas plumbo notas musicaè.' All these passages clearly point to Petrucci's invention consisting in the material used for his types. What he himself claimed may be best gathered from the report which was issued on his petition for a monopoly, a document still to be seen in the Archives at Venice. Though it has been printed both by Schmid and Vernarecci, a reproduction of it, from a transcript made by the present writer, may not be out of place here, especially as various inaccuracies are to be found in the authors just quoted. The document, which is numbered 22 in the Collezione Notatorio for the years 1489-99, runs as follows :—

Serenissimo principe, et Illma S^{ria} siando fama celebratissima vrā s^{ta} cum sue concessiō [ne] et privilegij incitar, et excitar li inzegni ad excogitar ogni di noue inuentiō [ni] qual habiano esser a cōmodita, et ornamento publico da questa inuitado Octauiam de

i petruci da fosonbron habitator in questa inclyta Cita homo ingeniosissimo cum molte sue spexe, et uigilantissima cura ha trouado quello, c̄h molti nō solo in italia, ma etiā dio de fuore de italia za longamente indarno haño investigato c̄h e stampar cōmodissimamente Canto figurado: et ꝑ consequens molto piu facilmente Canto fermo: Cossa precipue á la Religion christiana de grande ornamento, et maxime necessaria: ꝑ [per] tanto el soꝑsto [soprascritto] supp^{te} [supplicante] recorri a li piedi de vrā Illma S^{ria} supplicando quella ꝑ solita sua clementia: et benignita se degni concederli de gratia special chōme á primo inuentor, c̄h niuno altro nel dominio de vā S^{ria} possi stampar Canto figurado, ne intabuladure dorgano et de liuto ꝑ anni vintjne anche possi portar, ne far portar ó uender deste [de queste] cosse in le terre o luogi de ex^{sa} [excelsa] vostra S^{ria} stampade fuora in qualunq^{a} altro luogo sotto pena di ꝑder [perder] dicte opere stampade ꝑ altri, ouer portade de fuora et de pagar ducati x. ꝑ chadauna [ciascaduna] opa: la qual pena sia applicata per la mita a lospedal de sancto Antonio et laltra mita a la franchatiō[ne] del mōte nuoue:[1] et questo dimanda de grā [gratia] singular a vrā Illma S^{ria} al qual semꝑ [re] se ricōmanda.

1498. die xx5. Maij.

Q [Quod] suprascripto supplicanti concedatur prout petit.

Consiliarij.

ſ [Ser] Marinus leona.
ſ „ Hier^{mus} Vendramino.
ſ „ laurentius venerio.
ſ „ Domcus bollarij.

From the above document it is quite clear that all Petrucci claimed to have accomplished was the possibility of printing figured music and lute and organ tabulature (*i.e.* music written in the notation specially used for these instruments), and there can be no question that he was the first to do this satisfactorily. His earliest musical publications consisted in collections of secular songs for several voices, and he adopted the plan of printing each part separately, at first on opposite pages and later in separate part-books, a system which was universally used for the next hundred and fifty years

[1] *i.e.* a la franchatione del monte nuove=paying the bonds of the Monte nuove, a government bank.

(fig. 7). His earlier method, in which all the singers sang from the same book, though the composition was not printed in score, was obviously borrowed from the custom then in vogue with regard to writing figured music, but his later plan, by which each singer had his part printed in a separate book, the music in all the books corresponding page by page, was, so far as is at present known, his own invention. Its importance may be gathered by the way in which it was immediately adopted by his successors; indeed, until the rise of homophony, when music came to be printed generally in score, a plan which was only adopted widely in the seventeenth century, this was by far the most usual manner of issuing polyphonic music. Quite apart from its ingenuity, Petrucci's method is remarkable for the beauty of the results it produced. In the essential qualities of clearness, well-shaped notes, and general elegance of appearance, his books are far in advance of anything that issued from the innumerable presses that succeeded him. In one respect, indeed, he left something to be desired. His music is invariably printed by a double impression, the lines being printed first and the notes afterwards. To whom the credit is due of first printing music at a single impression cannot precisely be said. Chrysander attributes it to Erhard Oeglin of Augsburg, who finished his *Melopoiae* on 22nd August 1507 and his *Stella Musicae* on 29th March of the following year. Whether the latter work was printed at a single impression the present writer, not having succeeded in finding a copy, cannot state; but there is no doubt that the former, of which at least two copies exist in England, is printed on Petrucci's plan, only far more clumsily and with less satisfactory results. Schöffer, whose

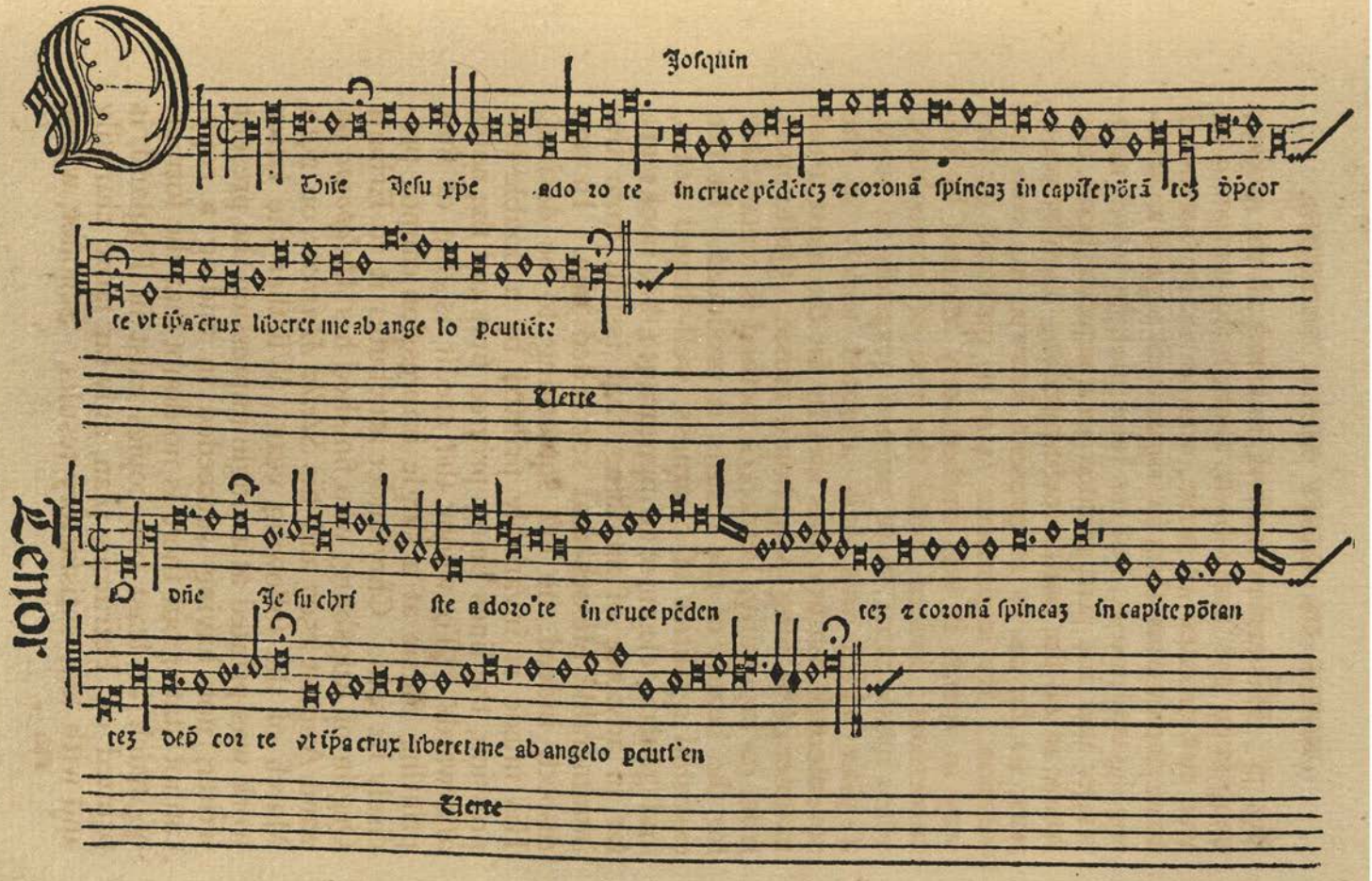


FIG. 7.—FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF PETRUCCI'S *MOTETTI DE PASSIONE*, VENICE, 1503

music-printing is remarkably beautiful, used a double impression, and it seems probable that the origin of single impressions must be sought among some of the less-known Italian printers. A recent writer on the subject, Herr Thierling, goes so far as to state definitely that it was first achieved by Petrus Sambonettus, in his *Canzone* printed at Siena in 1515.

W. BARCLAY SQUIRE.

THE WOODCUT DESIGNS FOR ILLUMINATION IN VENETIAN BOOKS, 1469-73

A LUCKY accident which led me to look through the Grenville copy of the *Virgil* printed by Bartholomæus de Cremona at Venice in 1472 has suggested the addition of one more brick to an interesting little pyramid, which the industry of three much more learned writers has been building up during the last few years, and the odd pages which remain of this number of *Bibliographica* offer an opportunity for giving a brief account of their researches,

and of my own small discovery. The whole subject is a very minute one, but as it was first started and investigated by Frenchmen, and carried on by a German writing in Italian, in an Italian periodical, it affords a pleasing instance of that international co-operation between bibliographers, which has been so largely aided of late years by the improvement in the processes of photographic reproduction.

The question is of a groundwork of wood-engraving which can be traced beneath the illumination in certain borders and initial letters in a number of books printed at Venice during the years 1469-1473. The credit of the first discovery of this woodcut basis is due to the Vicomte Henri Delaborde, who on page 251 of his delightful, and delightfully illustrated, book, *La Gravure en Italie avant Marc Antoine* (1883), quoted one of these designs as an example of the early work by which the first masterpieces of Venetian book-illustration were preceded. His account of his discovery is as follows :—

'L'ouvrage qui peut ainsi servir de spécimen pour l'époque des débuts de la gravure en bois à Venise est un *Valère Maxime* imprimé par Vindelin de Spire en 1471, c'est à dire près de trente ans avant la publication de l'*Hypnerotomachia*, vingt ans avant celle du *Fasciculus Medicine*, et deux ans seulement après l'impression du premier livre sans figures qui soit sorti des presses vénitiennes, les *Lettres familières de Cicéron* (1469). Sur le recto du 3e feuillet, au commencement du 1er livre du *Valère Maxime*, on trouve, outre une grande lettre ornée, une autre gravure en bois placée dans la marge du bas, au-dessous du texte, et représentant deux enfants ailés, deux génies, dont les bras soutiennent des rinceaux qui se déroulent à droite et à gauche. Entre ces deux enfants, au pied d'un écusson qui occupe le centre de la composition se jouent deux lapins. Le tout est dessiné avec une véritable élégance et beaucoup plus habilement gravé qu'aucun des ouvrages du même genre publiés jusqu'alors en Italie.'

In a footnote the Vicomte Delaborde notices

the existence of a repetition of this design in an edition of the works of Georgius Trapesuntius printed in 1472, and there he leaves the question, omitting, it will be observed, to point out that we are not here dealing with an ordinary instance of a woodcut design coloured by the caprice of its owner, but with a mere groundwork of woodcutting to which the addition of colour was essential.

Nine years after the publication of *La Gravure en Italie avant Marc Antoine*, the Duc de Rivoli brought out his *Bibliographie des Livres à figures vénitiens*, one of those indispensable books from which all subsequent investigations must take their start. The discovery of the Vicomte Delaborde had attracted the attention it deserved, and with the aid of M. Thierry-Poux, the learned Keeper of printed books in the Bibliothèque Nationale, whose recent death all bibliographers must deplore, the Duc de Rivoli was able to make a very considerable advance. In his bibliography he gives a descriptive list of a number of books containing these designs, and in his introduction thus summarises his information :—

'Dans un des deux livres imprimés à Venise en 1469, le *Pline* de Jean de Spire, apparaît la première bordure gravée sur bois, composée de plusieurs blocs. Un de ces blocs offre une vignette à personnages (60mm. de haut), gravée au trait, représentant un écusson flanqué de deux enfants ailés ; les autres blocs sont à rinceaux. C'est donc avec l'imprimerie elle-même qu'est importé à Venise l'art de la xylographie, et dès le premier essai cet art se révèle avec toutes les qualités qu'on admire dans les illustrations de la fin du xve siècle. Cette bordure du *Pline* de 1469 se retrouve, soit entière, soit en partie, dans plusieurs ouvrages publiés par Vindelin, frère et successeur de Jean de Spire, mort en 1470. Elle reparaît dans le *Virgile* de 1470 ; dans le *Tite Live* de la même année l'imprimeur y a introduit quelques blocs nouveaux, gravés tout exprès ; la même combinaison est offerte par le *Valère Maxime* de 1471 ; enfin, en 1472, Vindelin fit graver des blocs du même style, composés d'enfants et lapins qui, joints aux blocs inférieurs de la

bordure du *Pline*, formèrent l'encadrement des *Grands Orateurs* de Cicéron et du *Georgius Trapezuntius*. Nicolas Jenson, qui avait établi aussi une imprimerie à Venise en 1470, donna en 1471 le *M. Tullii Ciceronis epistolarum familiarum liber primus*, orné également d'une bordure très élégante, mais d'un style différent et d'une autre main que les précédentes.'

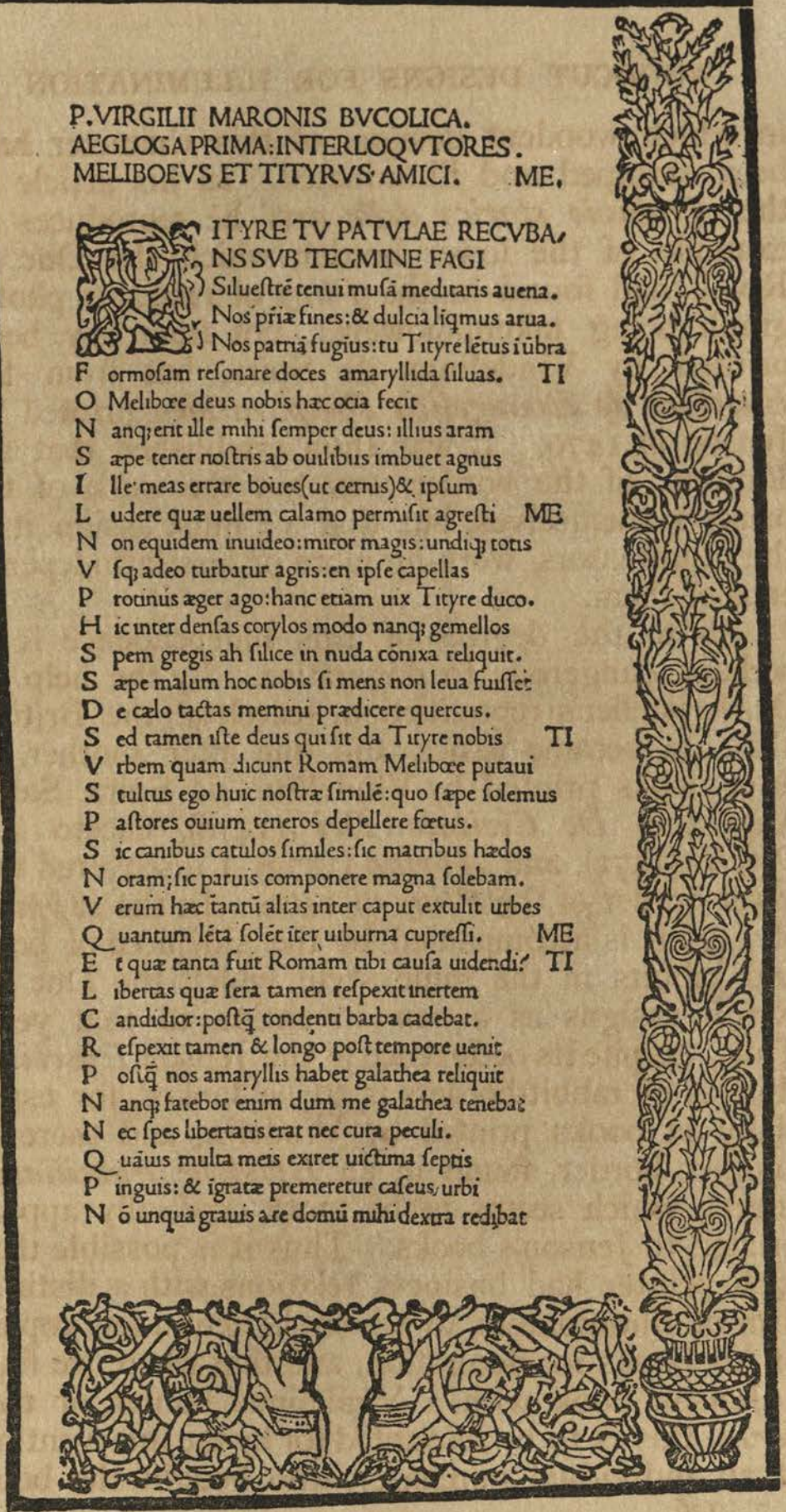
Owing to its possession of three great libraries (the King's, the Cracherode, and the Grenville), formed while the rage for First Editions of the Classics was still at its height, the British Museum is redundantly rich in the early productions of the press at Venice, and when I had read the Duc de Rivoli's introduction I hastened to examine a number of these, only to be grievously disappointed. Of the *Pliny*, for instance, the Museum has three copies, and in not one of these is the border described in the introduction to be found, and by a strange hap it is absent also from the copies I examined of the *Livy* and *Virgil* of 1470, of the *Valerius Maximus* of 1471, and of the *Rhetorica* of George of Trepizond of 1472, the books which, in the copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, had been specifically mentioned as possessing it. Naturally, I was very puzzled. A few months later, however, in a review of the Duc de Rivoli's book in the *Archivio storico delle arti*, Dr. Paul Kristeller, whose name will be familiar to all readers of *Bibliographica*, from his papers on the illustrated books of Pavia and Florence, threw fresh light on the subject, and for the first time assigned to these woodcut designs their true character as a labour-saving device, intended to facilitate the subsequent work of the illuminator. Dr. Kristeller, in the course of his researches into the early Italian books in all the chief libraries of Europe, had found upwards of forty volumes, all printed at Venice during the years 1469 to 1473,

in which woodcut designs of this character have been stamped and illuminated. In his article in the *Archivio storico delle arti* he reproduces an example of the lower border, which the Duc de Rivoli had found in the *Pliny* of 1469, his photograph being taken, however, not from any book printed by Vindelinus de Spira, but from the *Eusebius de Evangelica Præparatione*, printed by Jenson in 1470. It was thus established that the addition of the border was not the work of the printers themselves, but that we must assign it to the illuminators, working more or less in independence of them.

As to the degree of this independence it is perhaps dangerous to dogmatise. By the help of Dr. Kristeller's reproduction, search at the British Museum became easier, and one after another, in three books printed by Vindelinus de Spira, Saint Augustine *De Civitate Dei* (1470), Cicero *De Officiis* (1472), and *Appian* (1472), I discovered the lower border of the *Pliny* of 1469. In the *Appian* of 1472 it is accompanied by the sidepiece of boys and rabbits in the same style, which the Duc de Rivoli assigns as a new invention to that year. Thus, despite its occurrence in the Jenson *Eusebius*, this set of rabbit-borders is to be looked for especially in books printed by Vindelin, and there is another border, found in an *Epistolæ Familiares* (1471), which seems to be more especially appropriated to Jenson's books. Thus it is possible that each printer had business relations with a distinct firm of illuminators, to whom he sent a few copies of his books for decoration, and that where we find a Jenson book with a Vindelinus border, or *vice versa*, this is to be accounted for by the intervention of an individual purchaser, who bought the book

P.VIRGILII MARONIS BVCOLICA.
AEGLOGA PRIMA: INTERLOQVTORES.
MELIBOEVS ET TITYRVS AMICI. ME.

TITYRE TV PATVLAE RECVBANS SVB TEGMINE FAGI
Silueſtrẽ tenui muſã meditaris auena.
Nos pr̃iæ fines: & dulcia liqmus arua.
Nos patriã fugius: tu Tityre lẽtus i ũbra
F ormoſam reſonare doces amaryllida ſiluas. TI
O Melibœe deus nobis hæc ocia fecit
N anq; erit ille mihi ſemper deus: illius aram
S æpe tener noſtris ab ouilibus imbuet agnus
I lle meas errare boues (ut cernis) & ipſum
L udere quæ uellem calamo permiſit agreſti ME
N on equidem inuideo: miror magis: undiq; totis
V ſq; adeo turbatur agris: en ipſe capellas
P rotinus æger ago: hanc etiam uix Tityre duco.
H ic inter denſas corylos modo nanq; gemellos
S pem gregis ah ſilice in nuda cõnixa reliquit.
S æpe malum hoc nobis ſi mens non leua fuiſſet
D e cælo tactas memini prædicere quercus.
S ed tamen iſte deus qui ſit da Tityre nobis TI
V rbem quam dicunt Romam Melibœe putaui
S tultus ego huic noſtræ ſimilẽ: quo ſæpe ſolemus
P aſtores ouium teneros depellere fœtus.
S ic canibus catulos ſimiles: ſic matribus hædos
N oram; ſic paruis componere magna ſolebam.
V erum hæc tantũ alias inter caput extulit urbes
Q uantum lẽta ſolẽt inter uiburna cupreſſi. ME
E t quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi cauſa uidendi? TI
L ibertas quæ ſera tamen reſpexit inertem
C andidior: poſtq̃ tondenti barba cadebat.
R eſpexit tamen & longo poſt tempore uenit
P oſtq̃ nos amaryllis habet galathea reliquit
N anq; fatebor enim dum me galathea tenebat
N ec ſpes libertatis erat nec cura peculi.
Q uãuis multa meis exiret uictima ſeptis
P inguis: & ingratæ premeretur caſeus urbi
N ũ unquã grauis æs domũ mihi dextra redibat



FROM THE GRENVILLE COPY OF THE *VIRGIL* PRINTED BY BARTHOLOMÆUS CREMONENSIS, VENICE, 1472 (FOL. 20 REDUCED).

undecorated and chanced to employ the illuminator of the rival firm.

I now come to my own little discovery. Examples of manuscripts in which the illumination has been begun, but left unfinished, are fairly common, and in the British Museum copy of the *Constitutions* of Pope Clement v., printed by Schoeffer in 1471, we have an instance of the same occurrence in a printed book, a border and miniature having been sketched and prepared for painting, but left uncompleted. By a similar chance in the Grenville copy of the *Virgil* printed at Venice by Bartholomæus de Cremona in 1472, I am enabled to give here a reduced facsimile of one of these much discussed Venetian borders before the hand of the illuminator had touched it, the black line round the page representing the yellow size which had been laid on in preparation for the gilding, which it never received. The uncoloured design shows very distinctly the true character of these woodcut borders. As a design it is excellent, and prepares us for the printed borders which appeared a few years later in the books of Erhard Ratdolt. But both the cutting and the stamping on the paper are rough in the extreme; and it is clear that we have here, as has been said, only a basis for the work of the illuminator, and not, as in the case of the borders by Ratdolt, a finished decoration which the addition of colour would spoil.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

VII.

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

THE BINDINGS OF SAMUEL MEARNE AND HIS SCHOOL

ALMOST immediately after the Restoration of Charles II., in June 1660, the office of Bookbinder to the King was granted for life to Samuel Mearne. The value of the office was perhaps not very great, the yearly retaining-fee being only six pounds, but we know that the similar office of King's Stationer was eagerly competed for about the same time; and in the absence of any mention of special services rendered by Mearne to the royal cause, it is reasonable to suppose that at the date of his appointment he was already a binder of some note. An advertisement in the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* of July 9th, 1660, repeated three days later in the *Mercurius Publicus*, shows us not only that Mearne did not omit an opportunity of proclaiming his office, but also that he was already established in the booksellers' quarter. A cavalier, 'a near Servant to His Majesty,' who, according to the pleasant phrasing of the notice, had been 'too long imprisoned and sequestered to be now robbed when all men hope to enjoy their own,' had lost, during the King's progress, either at Sittingbourne or

Rochester, a leather portmanteau containing eight pair of white gloves and much wearing apparel, and any one who could assist in its recovery was invited to 'leave word with Mr. Samuel Merne, His Majestie's Bookbinder, at his house in Little Britain,' where he would be 'thankfully rewarded' for his pains, and doubtless, if he chanced to be a book-lover, have been allowed a sight of the fine bindings on which Mr. Mearne was already busy.

In his book on *Bookbindings* Mr. Horne tells us that among the accounts of the Great Wardrobe for the years 1663 to 1683 he had found an almost unbroken series of entries relating to Mearne, chiefly of Bibles and Prayer-books bound by him for the use of the royal chapels. I believe that Mr. Horne intends some day to print extracts from these accounts, and I have therefore thought it would be unfair to him to exploit his little discovery by an independent search. I find, however, among the entries concerning Mearne in the *Calendars of State Papers*, one of a slightly different character, in which he says that he delivered yearly, from 1660 to 1667, thirty-six volumes of almanacs bound in Turkey leather gilt, 'for the use of the King and Council.' He had afterwards to reduce the bill for these almanacs (he had always, it would seem, some difficulty in getting his money from the King) on the ground that the bindings were needlessly extravagant, the almanacs having previously been bound only in vellum without any gilding.

It was not only as a bookbinder that Mearne made himself useful to the Court, for on May 27, 1668, we find the King desiring the Stationers' Company to admit to the privileges of membership Roger Norton, Samuel Mearne, and Thomas

Rycroft, in consideration of the good service they had rendered in contributing to repress the practice of unlicensed printing. The Company, whose members were strictly limited, and possessed a valuable monopoly, was especially charged with the duty of discovering all such infractions of the law, and the King goes on to say that for the future he will hold it responsible for the scandalous abuses committed by the press. He hints, indeed, that it had not of late been sufficiently energetic, whence his desire to strengthen its hands both by his royal letter, and by incorporating into the Company some of his own servants. Later on we find that Mr. Wilson's *Nehushtan*, Samuel Speed's *King's Primer*, and the edition of Hobbes's *Leviathan* printed by John Redmayne in 1670, were all seized as unlicensed productions, Redmayne's press being confiscated; so that the King's action was not without effect. We are here, however, concerned with Mearne not as a hunter-out of unlicensed printing but as a bookbinder, and the most important entry referring to him which has yet been found is the bill, unfortunately not in detail, 'pro colligendis IV^{c} libris rubro corrio Turci pro Bibliotheca apud domum Sancti Jacobi,' which tells us that he was the binder of the books at St. James's Palace, which form no insignificant part of the 'Old Royal Library' given by George II. to the British Museum. In these books, the bindings of which are all in the same style and evidently from the same workshop, we have a definite starting-point, and our knowledge that they were bound by Mearne enables us safely to attribute to him other bindings in which the same stamps are used, or which are unmistakably in the same style.

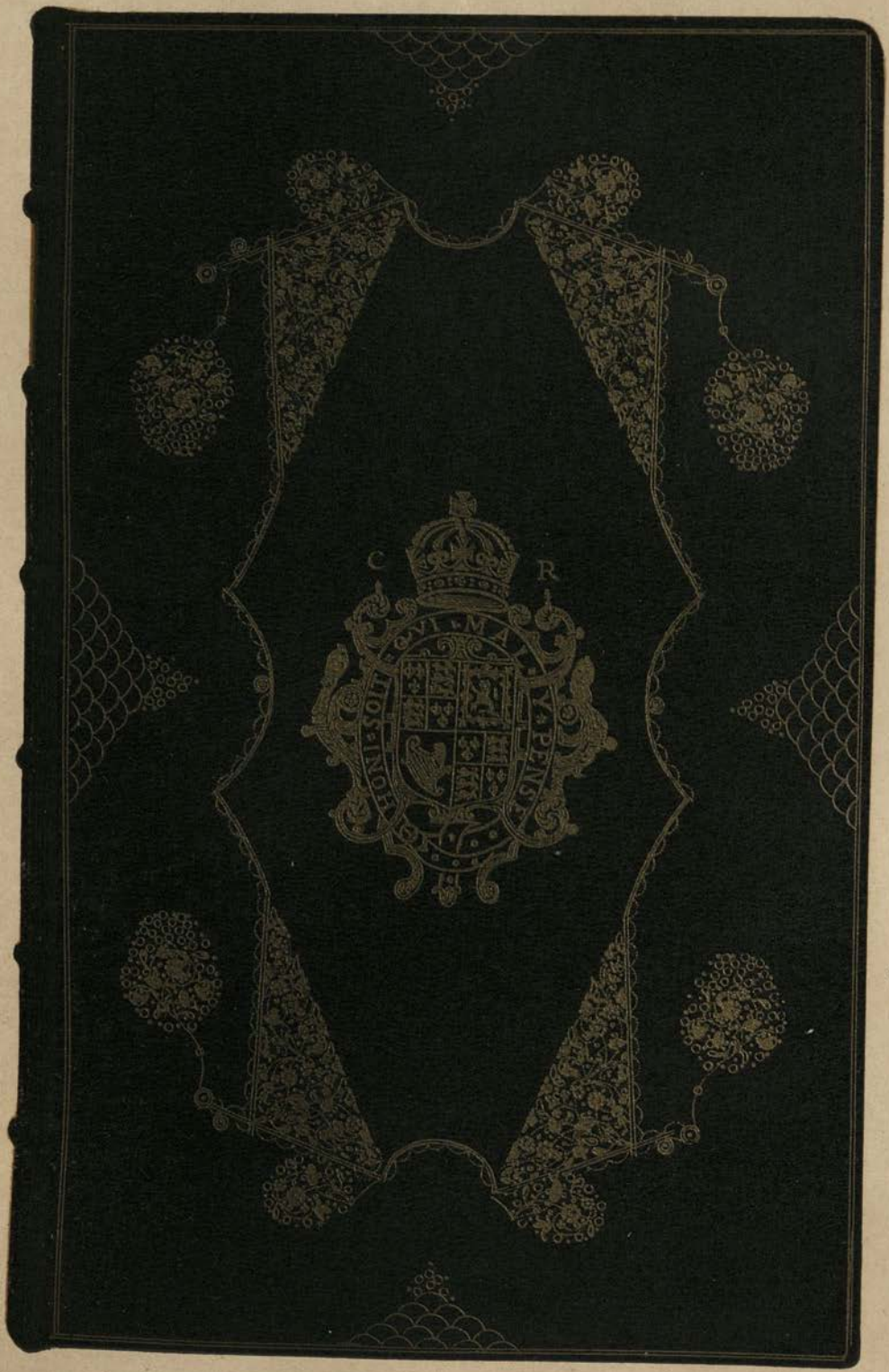
The great majority of the books bound for Charles II. between 1660 and 1683, the time during which Mearne was Royal Binder, bear somewhere upon them the royal cipher, two C's adossés crowned and half enclosed in palm sprays (fig. 1). These volumes are generally bound in red morocco, in accordance with his own description of them, and show considerable originality both in their general design and in the stamps carrying it out.

1

Mearne paid great attention to the backs of his books, and his simpler royal bindings, those having on the boards only rectangular lines with small ornaments at each corner, frequently have very beautiful and elaborate backs, the title printed in large, bold type, and the remaining panels either bearing the crowned cipher, or richly filled with small characteristic stamps arranged in the scale pattern. On the finer bindings are finer backs, at least one of them even having in the panels an adaptation in miniature of the cottage pattern.

On the richer bindings the rectangular line-panelling on the boards becomes a decorative fillet, generally coloured black, modified at the sides somewhat after the manner previously used by Le Gascon, namely, bent outwards into variously sized segments of circles, while the upper and lower lines are broken outwards into an angular form known as the 'cottage' from its resemblance to the section of a cottage roof. This likeness is further increased by the producing of the diagonal lines sideways so as to form projecting eaves, and from these, as far as I have yet seen, invariably depends some sort of spray.

Besides the similarity to Le Gascon just men-


C R
DIEU ET MON DROIT
HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE

tioned, there are to be seen on some of Mearne's bindings instances of pointillé work, which increases the probability that the work of the great French binder served as Mearne's model, although it can only be said that his influence appears in accessory detail.

On large bindings the use of small stamps is very likely to be out of place; but Mearne masses his in such a manner as to avoid this defect, and the effect of smallness is lost, while that of richness remains. But, curiously enough, the bindings of several small books which may be by Mearne have upon them his few stamps of a larger size. He appears, indeed, to have adorned the smaller books with larger stamps, and the larger books with smaller stamps, used in masses.

From about 1650 onwards for about a hundred years are found in England a number of small books bound in black morocco and enriched with mosaics of coloured leathers and gold-stamped work. The earlier of these bindings are without doubt the work of one binder, and there is good ground for considering them to be early work by Mearne. The colours of the mosaic leathers are deep red, dull yellow, and white, and the majority of the stamps used upon them are afterwards used or exactly copied by Mearne on his royal bindings. The most important of these are a flower—a tulip, —which often has another small stamp impressed inside it; a five-petalled rose; and an acorn. These flowers are usually in one or other of the coloured leathers, and in Mearne's finer books in red morocco they are generally stained black. These stamps are well shown on plates vii. and x.

From a literary point of view these small books are not of great value, and it seems unlikely that

so important a man as Mearne must have been, after 1660, would have condescended to borrow so many of his most effective designs from an obscure binder, whereas, if they were indeed his own work, nothing would be more natural and likely than that he should, in the days of his prosperity, take pleasure in honouring his own first steps to fame by imitating them.

Whoever it was that bound these little black and mosaic books of the seventeenth century in England, to him must be conceded the invention and regular use of a very decorative and charming innovation in the process of ornamental book-binding. Although before this date there are scattered instances of the use of inlaid leathers—in England on books bound for Queen Elizabeth, probably by John Day, who, however, only used white leather on calf, and in France, to a small extent, by Le Gascon—yet as a regular process it cannot, I think, be considered to have been previously practised anywhere to any extent. But here it held its own continuously from its inception until the time of James II., when it altered somewhat in character, and is found applied to large books of different colours and in conjunction with much fine and delicate stamped work. These larger books were very probably bound by Charles Mearne, the successor, and presumably the son, of Samuel, who, on the latter's death or retirement in 1683, became Royal Binder, and continued his styles very accurately for a considerable time.

The art of mosaic inlays reached afterwards its utmost nicety of craftsmanship in France; and for delicate elaboration and finish, the bindings of Padeloup, Le Monnier, and Derome le jeune may safely challenge all comparison. But I feel that a

further word remains to be said as to the designs used; and superior as the French work undoubtedly is in workmanship, it appears to me decidedly inferior in what many critics would consider a more important consideration, the fitness of design to space and material.

The small stamps used by Samuel Mearne with such generous profusion on his bindings are mostly floral in character. They are rarely, however, found alone, but are skilfully combined with curves and lines in set forms. The most usual of these forms may be said to follow in general outline the shape of a bird's head and beak, and this outline form is characteristic of Samuel Mearne's work. It will readily be recognised in most of his more decorated bindings, and is used with great skill on a copy of the '*Whole duty of Man*,' printed in London in 1673, and bound in black morocco, now in the possession of Lord Warwick, which I have been permitted to have reproduced here as one of my illustrations. (Plate ix.)

The gold decoration of this volume is all made up by the use of three stamps (figs. 2-4) used in spaces outlined in lines and curves.

2

3.

4.

It will be observed that the first two of these stamps show the bird-like outline most clearly, while the third is more rounded. This last stamp is indeed a near adaptation of one used by Le Gascon, who was, I believe, the first binder to realise that rich, and apparently complicated, effects could be effectively produced by the use of carefully designed set stamps, filled in and amplified,

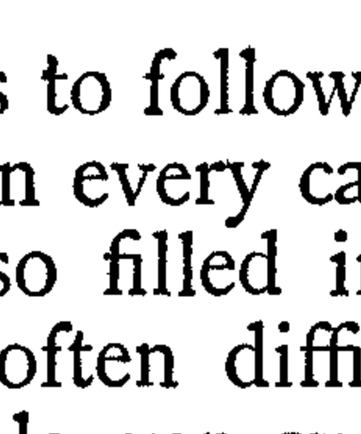
where necessary, by supplementary dots, circlets, and points.

On some of Mearne's bindings there occurs a curious stamp of a bird's head, and it is quite possible that he found it composed well, and may indeed have purposely carried out his larger stamps so as to follow the same outline (figs. 5, 6).

5.

6

In every case, wherever they occur, these stamps are so filled in and about with smaller ones that it is often difficult to recognise them immediately. The larger symmetrical spaces, which their shape causes them to leave, are filled with delicately cut sprays of different sizes, into which are introduced by preference Mearne's favourite designs of a pine-apple or a single acorn (figs. 7-9).



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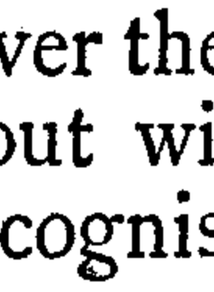

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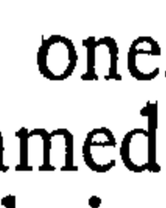


9.

Besides these are found a few irregular stamps (figs. 10, 11), which are used especially for small corners or where a straight edge has to be met, and a small leaf (fig. 12) with a mark in its thickest part,

10

11.

12

13.

which is used to produce sprays, and shows well on Plate x.

Of set stamps in lines there appears to be only one (fig. 13); this is used to form stars or for edges.

All these stamps are very delicately and well cut, and the impressions from them on the finer books are correspondingly good; but on commoner books, where the leather is not always of the finest quality, the impressions are often blurred, so that the pointillé effect is lost, and appears as a line only.

The drawings I have made to illustrate the most characteristic stamps used by Mearne are not to be considered as showing more than the general design, as on the books themselves the stamps vary much in detail and size, and there are many of them. It may, I think, safely be said that somewhere or other on any binding that can with any show of probability be attributed to Mearne, there will be found a stamp of a pine-apple, an acorn, or the royal cipher, and if none of these occur its authorship must be sought elsewhere.

The scale pattern is found on the back of at least one of the books bound for Jean Grolier, a copy of which is now in the British Museum, and possibly it was used even before his time. Mearne uses it not only on the backs of his books but on the sides also. He was, moreover, I believe, the first designer to fill up the spaces of the scales with fine stamped work, and this he does with excellent effect.

There is one peculiarity connected with Mearne's bindings to which I have already drawn attention in *Bibliographica* (vol. II. pp. 375 *sqq.*) and need therefore only mention here—his decoration of the edges with paintings under the gold in such a manner that the work only shows when held in a certain position.

The work of Samuel and Charles Mearne undoubtedly had a great influence on English bookbinding, and although for a time after their death the art in England fell into a low state, it presently

revived, and in this revival Mearne's example had a marked effect, as I hope to show in a later article on the bindings of Roger Payne. Moreover, although Mearne imitated Le Gascon in some points, yet his work as a whole is distinct and original, and, as I have said, I think in the decoration of large books he was even more successful than the French master. It is difficult indeed to find finer specimens of gold-stamped design than can be seen on several of Mearne's bindings, and the English lovers of book-bindings may find just occasion for pride in the work of this seventeenth century binder, for it will safely bear comparison with that of any of his contemporaries.

CYRIL DAVENPORT.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

PLATE VII.—The Holy Bible. *London*, 1658.

This little Bible, with which is bound up a Psalter of the same date, is covered with a smooth black morocco, on which is stamped on the sides an outline 'cottage' design, filled in with large flowers and a diamond-shaped centre in mosaic work of red and yellow morocco, with a few small leaves and flowers stamped in gold. The flowers which are here in colour can be seen on the binding of the Bible of 1678 figured in Plate x., but stained black.

Small books bearing stamps identical with this one are not uncommon about the middle of the seventeenth century, but they are rarely in good condition. They are, I think, very probably early

work by Mearne, and many of them have on their front edges, under the gold, paintings made in the manner afterwards found on undoubted work of Mearne's, *i.e.* showing only when the book is opened. On the edge of this book the design is floral and contains the two larger mosaic flowers which occur on the sides.

There are no inlays on the back, the five panels of which are simply filled with gold stamped work, some of it in square dots.

The book was purchased for the British Museum in 1882.

PLATE VIII.—Upton. De studio militari libri quattuor, etc. *London*, 1654.

This binding, probably a few years later than the book it encloses, is a very remarkable one, and is among the most pleasing of any executed by Mearne. It may be objected to much of his work that the decoration is overcrowded, but against the example before us this criticism can hardly be made. The subsequent addition of the Royal coat of arms, a coarsely-cut stamp, detracts considerably from the general effectiveness of the sides, although its very coarseness helps to accentuate the delicacy of the earlier work.

The binding is of deep olive smooth morocco, and the design that of the 'cottage,' delicately shown in a narrow double line and broken by curves at each side and at the apexes of the roof. Along the outer edge of this line is a series of small quarter circles in dotted work, and each of the four corners is richly filled in with admirably arrayed stamps of eagles' heads, leaves, flowers, and acorns. From the points of the eaves of the roof and from the

angles at the top depend clusters of similar stamps on stalks, and from the centres of each of the four sides are arranged pyramids of scale pattern and small circles.

The seven panels of the back are completely filled with close stamped work of similar character to that used in the corners on the sides, except the first and fifth, which bear the title and imprint on labels, the one coloured orange, the other black.

PLATE IX.—The Whole Duty of Man. *London*, 1673.

Lord Warwick's copy of *The Whole Duty of Man* is bound in smooth black morocco and is one of the rare instances in which Mearne has departed from his usual cottage design. The sides of the book are divided into three irregular compartments, outlined in broad fillets of straight lines, curves, and segments of circles. These compartments as well as the ground on which they lie are closely filled with a very cleverly worked mass of gold stamped work, made up almost entirely of three delicately cut stamps, shown in figs. 2, 3, 4.

The title is lettered in bold capitals on the first panel and the remaining panels are all filled with the same design, that of the 'cottage,' which Mearne seems to have used here in compensation for his abandonment of it on the sides. This is the only instance I have yet found where the 'cottage' occurs on the back of a book.

The very pretty border round the edge of the side is the same as was used afterwards on the Bible of 1678, shown in the next plate.

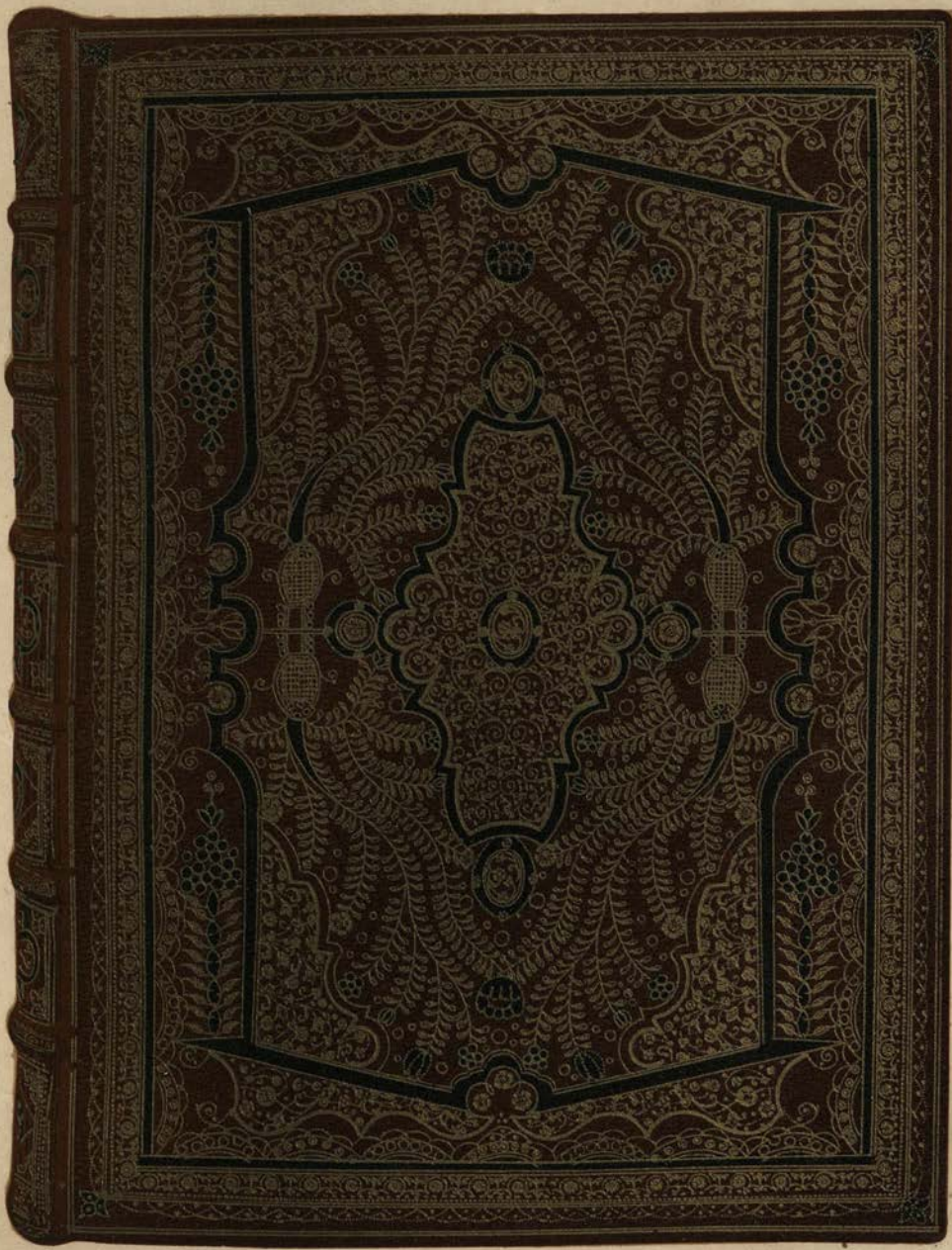


PLATE X.—The Book of Common Prayer, Bible, and Psalms. *London*, 1678.

This binding, in smooth red morocco, is a good specimen of Mearne's more decorative style. The fillets and larger flowers are stained black, and the arrangement of the leafy sprays, each part of which is separately stamped, is excellent. The breaking of the inner rectangular fillet into side-curves and roof-form is well shown, and the filling up of the remaining spaces with floral stamps, curves, and small flowers, rings, and dots, is thoroughly characteristic of Mearne's design. The book forms part of the Cracherode Library at the British Museum and is in excellent preservation. The seven panels of the back of the book are filled with delicately drawn designs of narrow black fillets, oval or curved, filled up with gold stamped floral sprays similar to those contained in the angles of the 'roof' on the sides.

C. D.

REFERENCES TO BOOKS IN THE REPORTS OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSIONERS

IT is now some years since the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners began their labours of making known the contents of the many noble libraries scattered up and down the country. The results are seen in the dozen or more Reports and Appendices which they have issued from time to time. Many references to books, and the history of books, are scattered through the pages of these bulky volumes, and as there is reason to believe that the value of this part of the work of the Commissioners is not as widely known as it deserves to be, I propose in the following pages to notice some of the most important of these references.

It must be admitted that in some instances the information supplied is both vague and disappointing, as, for instance, when we light in the index upon the mention of an 'inventory of books,' only to find, on following up the reference, that the contents of the inventory are not mentioned. In another instance the books referred to are dismissed with the brief statement that they 'are chiefly legal and theological works,' and have therefore not been thought of sufficient interest to need detailed description. In fact, the Commissioners, in too many instances, have paid more attention to the contents of the kitchen than to those of the library. But in spite of these drawbacks, their Reports are

full of interesting and valuable information about books, both manuscript and printed, and, to make amends for shortcomings in other directions, they have in not a few instances described in detail all the books they have seen. Two of these lengthy accounts I shall not touch upon here. The first describes the Stowe collection, which has become the property of the nation since the Report was issued, and of which the first part of a most careful catalogue has already been issued. The second gives an account of the collection of Trinity College, Dublin, which is almost equally well known. The books I intend to notice are in smaller and less accessible collections.

Beginning, then, with those in manuscript—in the Appendix to the Ninth Report (p. 46*a*)—we find an inventory of books bequeathed to the Cathedral of St. Paul's by Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London, in the year 1313. It is probable that the bequest may have been the Bishop's entire library, for books were costly in those days, and even at a much later period a nobleman's library rarely contained more than are here mentioned. But, in any case, it gives us the titles of the chief theological books of the early fourteenth century. The list is as follows:—

Rowelle super Summas.
Tercia pars Alexandri super Summas.
Epistole Petri Blesensis.
Questiones Bonaventura.
Questiones Magistrales super Summas cum tabula Kylewarby.
Sextus liber Decretalium cum apparatu et cum statutis et consuetudinibus de Arcubus et formulis literarum.
Collationes Kylewarby.
Vita Sancti Anselmi cum meditationibus.
Tractatus de lingua.
Tractatus de Oculo.

Expositiones Anglici infortiati.
Statuta Otonis et Octoboni et aliorum.
Liber Naturalium.
Summa Thome de Aquino.
Cronica Henrici de Huntingdon.

The most interesting items in this list are undoubtedly the two books bearing the name of Kylewarby as the author. Robert Kilwarby was Archbishop of Canterbury in 1279. He was renowned as a logician, was a man of learning, and wrote many books upon science and grammar, besides commentaries of the Scriptures. Of these, several manuscripts are still in existence. A copy of his work *De Conscientia* is amongst the Harleian MSS. The Bodleian possesses two copies of the *De Divisione Scientiarum*, and several others are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. But although his writings were very popular in the fourteenth century, the only one that has been printed is his condemnation of various errors in logic and grammar, which was issued both at Paris and Basle during the sixteenth century.

The Life of St. Anselm was presumably that written by Eadmer about the year 1122, and the expression, 'cum meditationibus,' may mean that with it was incorporated the book of the *Similitudes of St. Anselm*, of which Eadmer was also the author. The *Statuta Otonis et Octobonis* was printed several times, and Henry of Huntingdon's *Chronicle* is amongst those issued in the Rolls Series.

These books of Bishop Baldock's are believed to have been destroyed with the Cathedral in the great fire of 1666.

The next list furnishes one of several examples of book lending in early times, when security used to be taken for the return of the borrowed volumes

by means of an agreement or indenture of legal validity. Roger of Huntingfield was Rector of Balsham in the diocese of Ely at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and he borrowed the books mentioned from the Prior and Convent of Ely. In the year 1320 they were returned by his executors, and the transaction was entered in the Register of the Priory. The titles of the books were—

Sermones fratris Thomas Alquino in quattuor voluminibus.
Questiones ordinarie ejusdem fratris, scilicet De Veritate, De Potentia Dei, De Malo, De Spiritualibus creaturis, in uno volumine.
Item, Summa Magistri Henrici de Gandavo in uno volumine.
Disputationes ejusdem de colibet in alio volumine.
Item, Lectura super libros morales Aristotelis viz. super libros Ethicorum, Polithicorum, et libellum de Bona Fortuna, in alio volumine.
Item, Librum Canonis Avicenne de Medicina in duobus voluminibus.

Another early compact for book borrowing occurs among the archives of the Bishopric of Bath and Wells (Report 3, App. p. 363). It was made some time in the reign of Henry VI., between the then Bishop of the diocese, John Stafford, and the Dean and Chapter of the Church of Wells, and conveyed to the Bishop for his use for life ten books which he had previously presented to the Chapter, but which he desired to keep in his own possession. They included the following works:—

Policronicon
Casum Beurnium
Hugo super Decretis
Johannes Andrea super Regibus
Hostiensis summa
Apparatus de John de Deo Uno
Questiones Bartholomei Briscensis

and three other books, two of which the Commissioners have rendered in English as 'the Second

Part of Hostiensis' and 'a book of the Decretals.' The third was undecipherable, only the first three letters, 'Pom . . .,' being distinguishable. This may have been a copy of the *Pomerium Spirituale.*

Two other instances of this loan of books occur in the accounts of Lincoln College, Oxford (Report 2, App. p. 131). In one the Rector of the College of St. Mary and All Saints, Lincoln, engages that certain anthems shall be sung in the church in honour of St. Anne, in return for certain books lent to him by the College. By the other, the College lent Master Thomas Barker four books of Duns Scotus for life, with the stipulation that they were to be chained in the library for the use of the students after his death. It is to be regretted that in none of these cases is the exact wording of the agreement quoted by the Commissioners. It could hardly fail to be interesting.

The references to manuscripts of English authors are of course frequent in these Reports. In the first volume (p. 60) is an account of the collection at Helmingham Hall. This contains, amongst many other valuable books, a copy of the translation of Orosius, made by King Alfred, which is described as being in a very perfect condition; a richly illuminated copy of Trevisa's translation of Bartholomæus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum* in folio, on parchment written in the fourteenth century, and an octavo volume of parchment of the early fifteenth century containing Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience* and *The Lapidarye, or Book of Stones,* by an author named Hulle. There is also in the same library an early copy of Lydgate's *Destruction of Troy.*

Stonyhurst College, also, is shown to be rich in early English manuscripts. Here is preserved a copy of the Homilies of Pope Gregory, written in

the twelfth century in the monastery of St. Albans, in the time of the Abbot Simon; the writings of Bede; the Life of St. Catherine; the Passion of Christ, or Gospel of Nicodemus; and the Abbey of the Holy Ghost, the last three being in the handwriting of the fifteenth century. Stonyhurst also has an early copy of Walter Hylton's treatise *Upon Contemplation*; while another of the same author's works, *Stimulus Amoris Bonaventura*, is in the library of Lord Camoys, and was the subject of a special report in the Appendix to the second volume (p. 33).

Of Chaucer's works there are several MSS. in different collections, all of which are pretty well known and have been frequently described, one of them being that of the *Canterbury Tales* in the Wynne collection at Peniarth, described in the Appendix to the Second Report. The library of Countess Cowper at Wrest Park contains a great many of the writings of Wyclif; and of the early chronicles there are several valuable copies, a particularly fine Froissart on vellum, in double columns, in a hand of the early fifteenth century, being amongst the treasures of Stonyhurst.

Before leaving the consideration of these manuscript books, it will be interesting to gather up the scanty but valuable references to their prices and the expenses of writing, illuminating, and binding, which occur in these Reports. The earliest is to be found amongst the archives of Exeter College, Oxford, described in the Appendix to the Second Report (p. 129). Under the date 1366, the following expenses were incurred upon books:—For the copying of a book called *Domyltone*, presumably one of the works of John de Dumbleton, who wrote several scientific books, the sum of 8s. 9d. was paid.

The parchment upon which it was written cost 14½d., and the illumination of it and of another book, William of Heytesbury's *Sophismata*, cost together 3s. 4d. The binding cost 2s. 1d., but whether both works were bound together, or separately, is left in doubt.

The accounts of another of the Oxford colleges, Oriel, record the sums paid for binding two books a century later. One of these was the sermons of Jacobus de Voragine (*Januensis in Sermonibus*), and its cover cost 16d.; the other was evidently slightly larger, for the price paid was 24d. Its title was *Rosa in Medicinis.*

Amongst the manuscripts of Mr. H. Mackeson of Hythe, Kent, noticed in the Second Report (App. p. 91), is a computus of the goods and chattels of St. Leonard's, Hythe, for the year 1412-1413, from which the Commissioners quote the following passage:—'For the correction of the Missal and Antiphonary' (no sum stated); 'for a piece of leather, called bokkesskyn, bought of William Walton for the Graduale, 13d.; for ribands of red leather for the said Graduale, and for mending the clasps, 6d.; for binding the great Missal and old Graduale, 4s. in part of 6s.'

I have only come across one instance of book buying in these early times, and this occurs in the records of Oriel College, Oxford, in the year 1412, in which it is stated that 'A Legenda,' presumably a copy of the *Legenda Aurea*, was bought for a hundred shillings. It must have been a very magnificent copy in every way to have fetched such a price.

Printed books might well have been considered by the Commissioners outside the scope of their inquiry. Nevertheless, in the earlier Reports there

are several very interesting references to them. Of incunabula they notice a copy of Lyttelton's *Tenures*, printed by Machlinia, in the library of Lyttelton, and a copy of Dame Juliana Berner's *Book of St. Albans*, printed in 1486, in the Bromley Davenport collection at Caperthorpe in Cheshire. In addition to these they notice in detail four very important collections of printed books covering the period from 1545 to 1611. The earliest of these is an inventory of the books of John, Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick (1545-1550) (Report 2, p. 102) in which, unfortunately, many of the entries are so vague—*e.g.*, '2 bokes of Cosmografye'; 'An old paper book'; 'The Kyngis Grammar'; 'A Boke of Conceits'; 'A Italian boke'—that it is quite impossible to identify the books to which they refer. It is even difficult to recognise in the entry 'Aponapis of Mr. Monsons' the *Apomaxis Calumniarum* of Richard Moresyne, printed in 1537 by Thomas Berthelet, while the second book in the inventory is given as 'Locci et Aeneadas'; this the Commissioner has rendered 'Locci [? Flacci, meaning Horace] et Aeneadas,' but I am inclined myself to believe that the first word may really refer to Virgil's *Eclogues*, which were printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1512.

In this inventory there were no less than forty-one items, including the following works:—'A boke to play at Chistis in Anglishe,' presumably a copy of Caxton's *Game and Play of the Chess*; 'Sidrack and King Bockas,' a popular book, of which the earliest edition was printed by Thomas Godfrey in 1510, and another by Robert Wyer; 'Hormanus Volgaries,' printed by both Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde; and 'A Tragidie in Anglishe of the unjust supremacye of the Bisshope of Rome,' which looks

uncommonly like an edition of Bale's work. Then there were several of Heywood's plays, 'A Play of Love,' 'A Play called the 4 Pees,' 'A Play of the Weather,' and, midst of these, 'A Play called Old Custome,' of which I can find no other mention, though it may have suggested the title of the play called 'New Custome,' of which the earliest extant edition was printed in 1573. We may notice, also, a Greek Grammar and a book of Physic in Greek (both of them probably printed abroad), a French and English Testament, and 'Three Little Tables' or memorandum books.

The next important list noticed by the Commissioners is a catalogue of books at Stafford Castle, '1556,' amongst the manuscripts of Lord Bagot (Report 4, App. p. 328.) Curiously enough this also contains forty-one entries; but it is in many respects a much more satisfactory compilation than the last. In almost every case we have the name of the printer, the size of the volume, and the date added. The latest date is the year 1555, and as the earliest is 1508, it will be seen that this list of books is an extremely valuable one. From Wynkyn de Worde's press there are some half dozen books—

Cato cum Commento. 1508. 4°.
Crafte to lyve and Dye well. 1509. 4°.
Colloquiorum formulæ Erasmi. 1522. 4°.
Parabolæ Alani. 1523. 4°.
Book of Hunting and Hawking. 1532. 4°.
Regula beati Benedicti. *n.d.*

The last of these seems to have escaped Mr. Duff's notice when compiling his hand-list for the Bibliographical Society. It is exceedingly rare, the earliest known copy of the life of St. Benedict being that printed by Pynson in 1516.

Robert Redman is represented by a copy of the

Shepherds' Calendar without date, an edition of Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry*; Leonard Coxe's *Rhetorica Anglice*, printed in 1524; and *Standishe against Barnes*, printed in 1540. Amongst other notable books in this library was John Rastell's *Pastyme of People*; Laurence Andrews' *Mirror of the Worlde*; the *Sententiæ Pueriles*, printed by John Herford in 1546; the 1525 edition of the *Donatio Constantini* from the press of Thomas Godfray; the *New Herbal*, printed by Stephen Mierdemann in 1551; and an edition of Andrew Borde's *Regiment of Health*, dated 1554, the printer of which is not mentioned.

Several errors occur in the names of the printers. Edward Whitchurch is rendered Whitworth, John Kingston becomes Kinston, and 'R. Tollye' seems to defy identification, though it might possibly stand for Richard Tottell. The book assigned to him is 'The Judgement of Urynes: Anglicè: Per Lloyd,' but no copy of it printed by Tottell seems to be known. The remainder of the books were from the presses of Berthelet, Petit, Wolfe, Middleton, Marsh and Day.

In the Appendix to the Third Report (p. 44) are extracts from the account books of the Duke of Devonshire, and under the date 1601 is the following short list of books with prices attached:—

	s.	d.
Sebastian, King of Portugal,	0	8
Guazzo Dialogues,	2	6
Boterus,	1	0
Life of Leodicimus,	1	8
Villamont,	3	6
Molynes' Cancre of England's Commonwealth,	1	0
Morley's Art of Music,	4	0
„ Oriana, in six parts,	4	6
Lazarillo de Tormes, in English,	0	5
Terence,		
	151	

The first is undoubtedly Anthony Munday's translation, entitled *The True History of the late and Lamentable Adventures of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal*, printed for F. Henson, London, 1601, 4to, and reprinted in the Harleian Miscellanies. Its price indicates that it was a tract of only a few leaves. The entry 'Boterus' refers to the work known as *The Traveller's Breviat, or an historicall description of the most famous kingdomes in the World*, translated by Robert Johnson Gent from Giovanni Botero's *Le Relatione Universali*, and printed by E. Bollifant for J. Jaggard in 1601, quarto.

Gerard de Malynes' 'Cancre of England's Commonwealth' is a very rare tract indeed. It was published in 1601 by R. Field for W. Johnes. Its author was a noted writer upon Trade and Commerce.

The English translation of the history of Lazarillo de Tormes was made by David Rouland, and was printed in octavo by Abell Jeffes in 1586; another edition, in quarto, appearing in 1596.

What book is meant by the entry 'Villamont' I have been unable to discover.

The last of the four collections to which I have referred is that of the Duke of Northumberland. The Sixth Report (App. p. 226, etc.) contains a large number of extracts from the rolls of household accounts belonging to the family. In these are recorded the sums paid for books and bookbinding, and the names of many stationers and bookbinders. The earliest entry is that of the sixth year of Elizabeth, when 3s. 4d. was paid for a book called *Chronica Francorum*. In the year 1580 the same sum was given for a copy of Gerard Legh's *Accedens of Armory*. This book was a very popular one. It went through several editions

after its first publication in 1562; but as there are no dates attached to any of the books mentioned in these accounts, it is impossible to identify this copy. There does not appear to be any edition of it printed in 1580. In 1585 mention is made of the *History of Guicciardini*, for which 16s. was paid. This was in all probability the first edition of the English translation of the Italian work. Two editions were printed by R. Field, one in 1599 and another, called the 'Third Edition,' in 1618.

The number of books recorded as purchased increases each year up to 1611; but though this was the most stirring period in the history of English literature, only two of the noted books of that time are mentioned—the *Shepherds' Calendar* and the *Mirror for Magistrates*. The first was no doubt Spenser's celebrated work, not the earlier prose compilation of weather lore, and the price paid for it was only 10d. The other, being a much more bulky volume, cost 4s. 6d.

Interesting as the list is, it is clear from the large sums paid to booksellers and bookbinders that it does not contain a tithe of the books purchased. Thus in 1596 £21 was paid to Paul Lynley, the bookseller, and in the same year £4, 12s. to Francis Henson for 'binding of books.' Another bookbinder mentioned was Mr. Blunt, probably Edward Blount, who received £20. Mr. Norton was paid £13, and Mr. Ponsonby 'for books' £32.

In 1599 books were bought from James Rymer and John Flaskett, and in 1611 there is entered a list of fifty-three books purchased from John Bill. Nearly the whole of these were foreign works, chiefly Latin, French, and Italian. Of the few English books several were legal works, such as Littleton's *Tenures* and Wormington's *Defence of*

the Oth, and of the remainder only two are deserving of notice here. The first is entitled *The Declaration of Virginia*, a colony which had been founded early in the reign of James I., and about which a great many pamphlets and tracts were published, most of them now very scarce. There were two published in 1610, one called *A True and Sincere Declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia*, etc., and printed for I. Stepneth; the other [*The* or *A*] *True Declaration of the estate of the Colonie of Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise*, which was printed for W. Barrett, by the direction of the Council of Virginia.

The other book deserving notice was briefly entered as *Mills of Nobilitie*, and the price paid for it was 24s. This was a book of the nature of 'Debrett,' and one in which such a man as the Duke of Northumberland would be interested. It had a lengthy title which fully explained the nature of the work:—

> 'The Catalogue of Honor, or Tresury of True Nobility peculiar and proper to the Isle of Great Britain: that is to say: A Collection historical of all the Free Monarches as well Kinges of England as Scotland . . . with the Princes of Walles, Dukes, Marquisses, and Erles; their wives, children, Alliances, Families, Descentes, and Achievementes of Honor. Wherunto is . . . prefixed: A special Treatise of that kind of Nobility which Soverayne Grace, and favor, and Contryes Customes, have made meerly Politicall and peculiarly Civill. . . . Translated out of the Latine of R. Glover; by Thomas Milles. Printed by W. Jaggard, London, 1610. Folio.'

There are also references in these reports to writings that either were never printed, or of which no copies are known, but which may yet furnish interesting hints to literary historians. Thus among

the MSS. of W. M. Molyneux, described in the Seventh Report, App. p. 612, under the date 1556, there is a letter from William Baldwin, the dramatist, to Sir Thomas Caverden, in which he describes a play he had written, called *Love and Live*, and gives the cast of the characters. No printed copy of this play is now known, but there is a strong piece of evidence pointing to its being well known, for Thomas Higgins in 1587 headed his dedication to *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 'Love and Live,' and as Higgins and Baldwin were well known to each other, it seems hardly likely that the repetition of the title of Baldwin's play was simply a coincidence. It will be a great pleasure to me if the brief notes I have here brought together should lead to the clues of this kind which these Reports contain being more sedulously followed up by historians and bibliographers than has hitherto been the case.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

THE EARLY ENGLISH WRITING-MASTERS

THE history of handwriting in England, using the word in its democratic sense as a popular rather than an ecclesiastical or legal accomplishment, seems to begin nearly half a century later than in Italy. In the early Middle Ages, English scribes earned a European reputation for the beauty of their calligraphy; and until about the middle of the fifteenth century, education was both soundly and widely promoted by the monastic schools. But this healthy condition was followed by a period of decline; and it was not until the third quarter of the sixteenth century, that the revival of learning had become sufficiently general for the profession of writing-master to be possible, dependent, as it had to be, on the support of the people at large.

Thus, while we find that in Italy the popular demand for writing copies was so great that eighteen editions of Tagliente's work alone were called for between 1524 and 1565, in addition to the productions of Palatino and other masters, it was not until 1571 that any book of this nature made its appearance in England.

The earliest writing book printed in this country appears to be *A Booke containing divers sortes of hands*, 'Set forth by John de Beau Chesne, P. and M. John Baildon,' and 'Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrouillier, dwelling in the blacke frieres, 1571.'[1] This volume is printed, in the manner of

[1] The preface is dated 1569.

the early Continental calligraphic books, from type-blocks; and contains specimens, somewhat unequal in merit, of the more common styles in use abroad, as well of the characteristic English secretary and legal hands. Two of the plates, perhaps designedly, but more probably by accident, are reversed.

This 1571 edition, from which we take our first illustration (fig. 1), does not seem to have been known to the early writers on English calligraphy; they only refer to a reprint by Richard Field, in 1602. It is very probable that only a few copies were issued, more as specimens of the printer's craft than for general circulation; although the fact that the majority of the examples are in English shows that it was specially prepared for this country, and is far more than a reprint of the French publications of Jehan de Beau Chesne, who had printed his first work, *Le Thresor d'Escripture*, at Paris in 1550. He is said to have come to London, and settled near St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

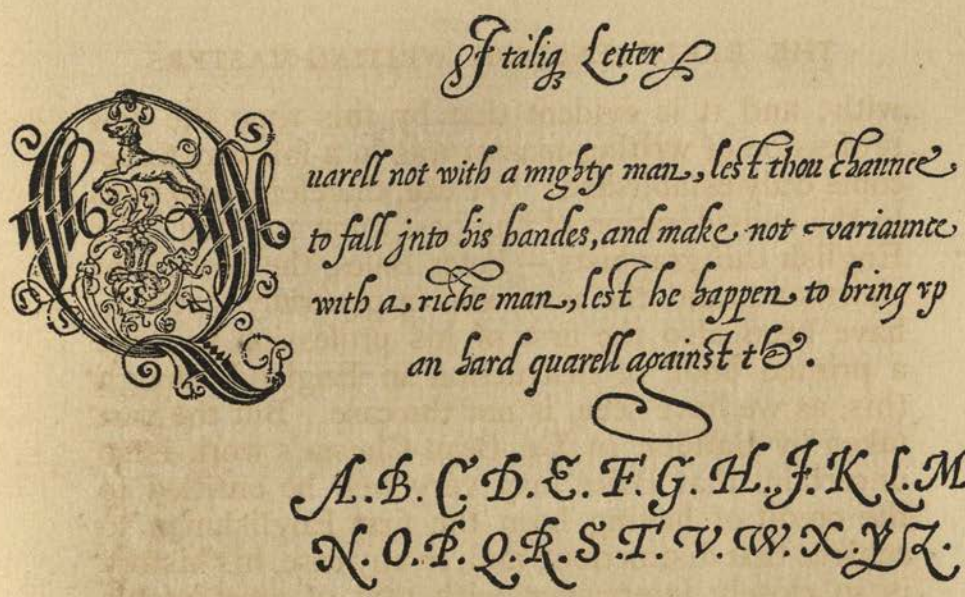
In this place a reference may fitly be made to a manuscript book of calligraphy, prepared with great care and elaboration, perhaps from the above mentioned book as model. The volume consists of thirty-one folios—several of them being illuminated in colours—and measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It was made for presentation to Queen Elizabeth; but as notes on the fly-leaf show it to have remained in the master's family for several generations, the presentation probably never took place. The title is a copy of De Beau Chesne and Baildon's book, with the substitution, for their names and imprint, of the words, 'Set forth by Wyllyam Teshe of the Citye of yorke, gentleman, anno 1580.' (Brit. Mus., Sloane MS., 1832.)

Similar exercises of skill are occasionally met

with; and it is evident that by this time the new profession of writing-master was in a fair way to become duly established. We can, therefore, now pass to the consideration of the best known of the later English calligraphists,—Peter Bales, the pioneer of shorthand, and the man who is generally stated to have been also the first of his profession to issue a printed book of instruction in England, though this, as we have seen, is not the case. But the part taken by Baildon in De Beau Chesne's work is so uncertain, that Bales may very well be entitled to the credit of having been the first Englishman to achieve that distinction; and, in any case, his history is so closely interwoven with that of most of his rivals, that it seems worth while to give it at some length, as affording a useful picture of the condition of practitioners of the craft at the end of the sixteenth century.

Peter Bales was born in the city of London in 1547. He became famous early in life for the beauty and minuteness of his writing, so much so as to obtain mention in Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1575).

'The tenth of August,' says the chronicler, 'a rare peece of worke and almost incredible, was brought to passe by an Englishman borne in the citie of London, named Peter Bales, who by his industrie and practise of his pen, contrived and writ within the compasse of a penie in Latine, the Lords praier, the creed, the ten commandements, a praier to God, a praier for the Queene, his posie, his name, the daie of the moneth, the yeare of our Lord, and the reigne of the queene. And on the seventeenth of August next following at Hampton Court he presented the same to the queens maiestie in the head of a ring of gold, covered with a


Italian Letter
Quarell not with a mighty man, lest thou chaunce
to fall into his handes, and make not variaunce
with a riche man, lest he happen to bring vp
an hard quarell against th.
A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M.
N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. V. W. X. Y Z.

1.—FROM BEAU CHESNE'S *BOOKE CONTAINING DIVERS SORTES OF HANDS*, 1571. ($6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$)

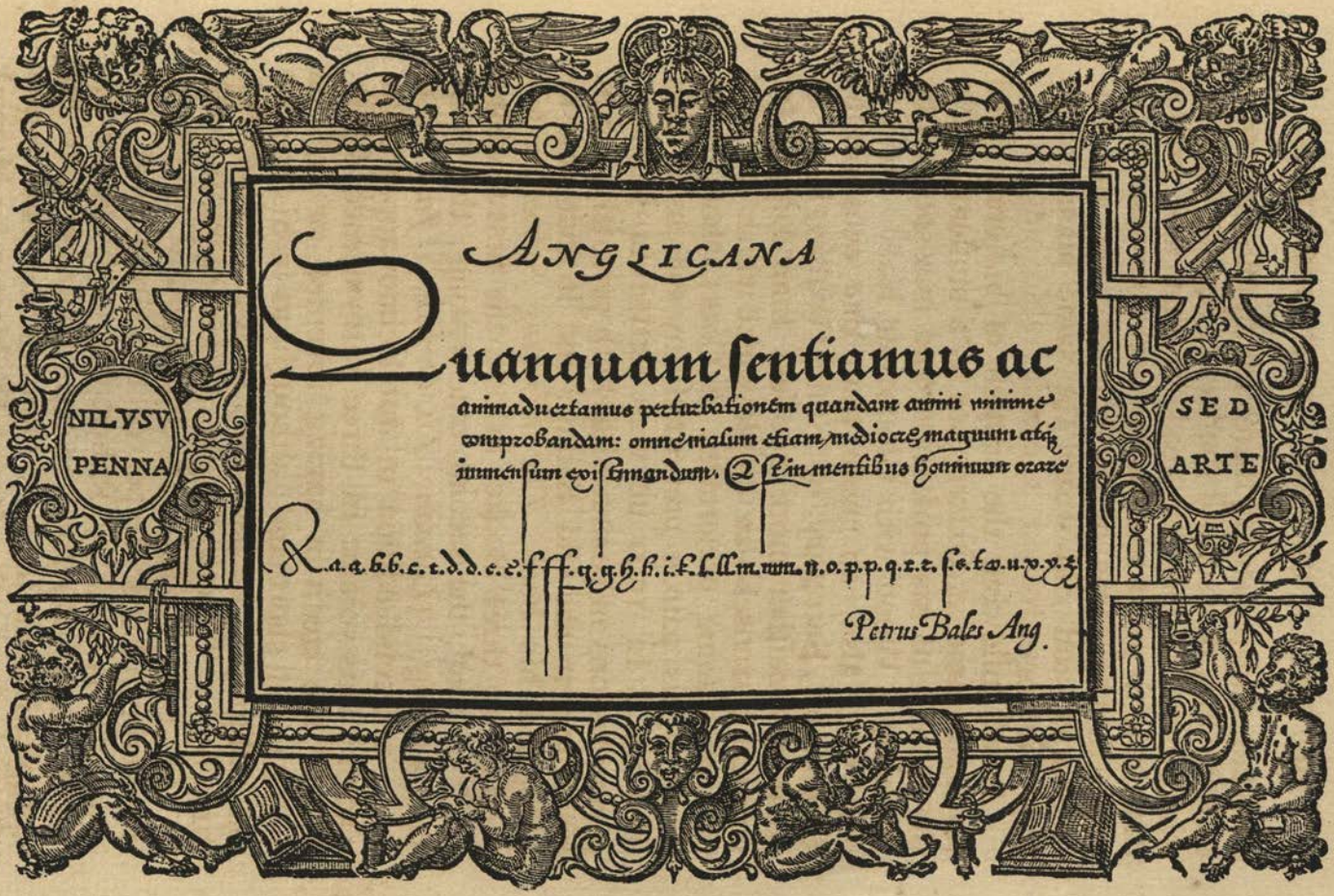
La Bastarde Angloise.
Like as the cutting of vines and other plants
is cause of much better & more plentie of ẏ
fruit: so the punishment of euillmen, cause
good men to flourish in a common welth.
M. Martin Ang. scr.

2.—PLATE BY MARTIN, FROM HONDIUS' *THEATRUM ARTIS SCRIBENDI*. ($8\frac{1}{4} \times 5$)

christall, and presented therewith an excellent spectacle by him devised for the easier reading thereof: wherewith hir maiestie read all that was written therein with great admiration, and commended the same to the lords of the councell, and the ambassadors, and did weare the same manie times upon hir finger.'

Bales, following the custom of his craft, lived for some time at Oxford, not as a student, but in the exercise of his profession, and is associated by Anthony à Wood with Gloucester Hall. He was employed, also, on more than one occasion by Elizabeth's Secretary of State, Walsingham, in what was neither more nor less than forgery for political purposes—an employment which led him to expect some preferment at Court, though the death of his patron prevented any success in this direction. In 1590 he was settled in London, giving lessons in penmanship both privately and at his school in the Old Bailey; and in that year he published his book, *The Writing Schoolmaster*, 'conteining three Bookes in one, the first teaching swift writing; the second, true writing; the third, faire writing.' (*London: Th. Orwin*, 1 *Jan.* 1590, 4*to.*; a second edition in duodecimo appeared in 1597.) This volume in three parts earned for its author the credit of having invented, or at least popularised, shorthand; although, as in his treatise on calligraphy, he had really been forestalled, this time by Dr. Timothy Bright of Cambridge, in 1588.

In 1592, Bales was employed by Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. In 1594, he is said by Robert More (*Essay on the Invention of Writing*), to have contributed to the compilation of Jodocus Hondius the plate reproduced in fig. 3, sharing with W. Martyn (or Martin),


ANGLICANA
Quanquam sentiamus ac
animaduertamus perturbationem quandam animi minime
omprobandam: omnemalum etiam modicæ magnum atq;
immensum euitandum. Q Sim mentibus hominum orare
a.a. b.b. c. d.d. e. e. f f f. g. g. h. i. k. l. ll. m. nn. n. o. p. p. q. r. t. s. t. u. v. y. z
Petrus Bales Ang.
NIL VSV PENNA
SED ARTE

3.—PLATE BY PETER BALES, FROM HONDIUS' *THEATRUM ARTIS SCRIBENDI*

whose work is shown in fig. 2, the honour of representing the English calligraphy of the period.

The next event of importance in his life was a great trial of skill on Michaelmas Day, 1595, with a rival master, Daniel Johnson, for the prize of a Golden Pen valued at twenty pounds. Of this contest, which provoked a considerable amount of interest at the time, and apparently not a little jealousy, Bales, who was successful, has left an account in his own handwriting, now preserved in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum (Harl. MS. 675). In another competition, open to all the professors of his craft, he also succeeded in gaining the prize—a formal award of the Arms of Calligraphy, which are, says an authority, *Azure*, a Pen, *Or*. Similar contests were frequently held for some time afterwards, and generally seem to have resulted in heart-burning and wordy war between the penmen, whose livelihood would be seriously endangered by an unexplained failure.

In 1600, Bales became involved in some doubtful legal business, having been engaged, quite innocently as it proved, by one John Danyell, to forge certain letters of the Earl of Essex. Instead of this transaction resulting, as Danyell had hoped, in a large profit to himself, at the expense of the Earl, it only proved his own ruin, as he was sentenced in the Star Chamber to pay a fine of £3000, to stand in the pillory, and to be imprisoned for life. Bales gave evidence against Danyell in this case, and had some difficulty in clearing his own character. He lived some years later, and died in obscurity and poverty, if we can trust the spiteful verses of a rival, John Davies of Hereford, who wrote in his *Scourge of Folly*—

'*Of a* Pen *for a* Running-Hand.

The *Hand*, and *Golden Pen*, *Clophonian*
  Sets on his *Sign*; to shew, O proud, poor Soul,
Both where he wonnes,[1] and how the fame he wan,
  From Writers fair, though he writ ever foul:
But by that Hand, that Pen so borne hath been,
  From Place to Place, that for *this last half Year*,
It scarce a sen'night at a place is seen,
  That Hand so plies that Pen, though neer the neare:
For when men seek it else-where it is sent;
Or there shut up, as for the Plague, for Rent:
  Without which *stay*, it never still could *stand*,
  Because the Pen is for *a Running-Hand*.'

This John Davies earned considerable fame in his day both as a writer of epigrams, and as a penman. He was born at Hereford, practised as writing-master to Magdalen College at Oxford, was certainly living in Fleet Street in 1611, and was a Roman Catholic. He is described by Fuller as 'the greatest *Master* of the *Pen* that England in his age beheld; for

1. *Fast writing*; so incredible his expedition.
2. *Fair writing*; some minutes' consultation being required to decide whether his lines were written or printed.
3. *Close writing*; a mysterie indeed, and too dark for my dimme eyes to discover.
4. *Various writing*; *Secretary*, *Roman*, *Court*, and *Text*.'

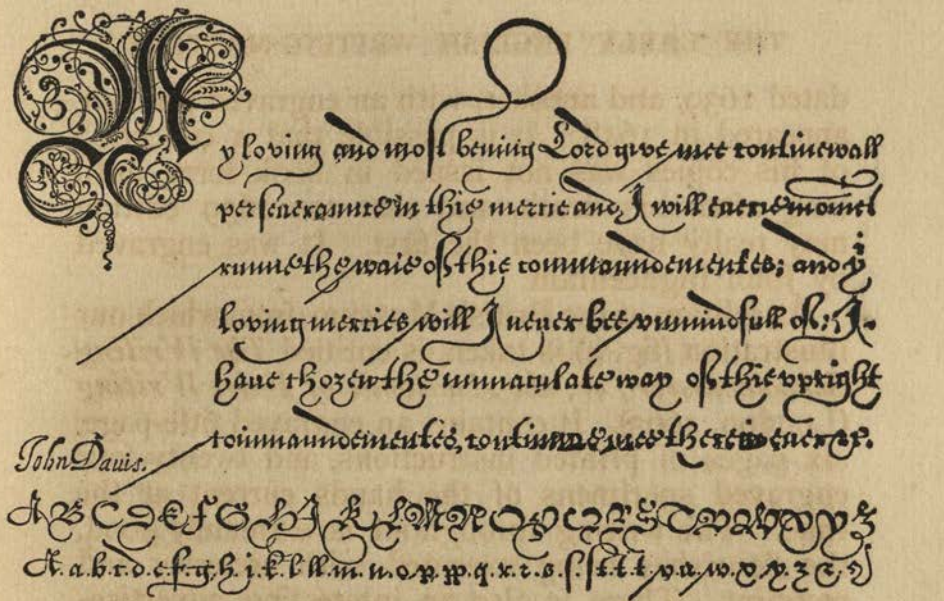
Davies was at one time writing-master to Prince Henry; he is said to have died about 1618 (though one of his books of epigrams was published in 1619), and was buried at St. Giles-in-the-Fields. The date of the first edition of his writing-book, I have not been able to obtain; Massey (*Origin and Progress of Letters*) refers to one edition,

[1] *i.e.* dwells.

dated 1639, and another, with an engraved portrait, appeared in 1648. It is possible that a collection of his copies was not issued in book form until long after his death, and that the 1639 edition may really have been the first. It was engraved by John Ingheenram.

An edition at the British Museum, from which our illustration (fig. 4) is taken, is entitled *The Writing Schoolemaster; or, the Anatomie of Faire Writing* (London, 1663). It contains an engraved title-page, six pages of printed instructions, and twenty-four engraved specimens of the hands current at the time. The writing throughout is extremely good, the flourishes being executed with accuracy and restraint. There is also an interesting advertisement of 'Two . . . rare knots of *Mr. Edw. Cocker*, Master in writing'; and of copy-books by Martin Billingsley, '*Billingsley* in small,' James Hodar, Mr. Johnson, J. Fisher, Luis Hughs, and P. S.

A pupil of Davies, Richard Gething, also achieved some distinction in his profession. He was a native of Herefordshire, and worked in London at the Sign of the *Hand and Pen* in Fetter Lane. He published a quarto volume of writing-copies in 1616; another, entitled *Chiro-graphia* in 1645; and a third, from which fig. 5 is taken, entitled *Calligraphotechnia* in 1652; this last a well written and engraved work, following the Italian styles of the beginning of the seventeenth century, with a few plates of English text. The initial is a rare piece of dexterity, and, in its way, is by no means badly composed. The volume has for frontispiece an engraved portrait of the artist, inscribed RICHARDUS GETHINGE HEREFORDIENSIS, ÆT : 32, with the motto above, 'Nil Penna sed Arte,' and below, these verses—


O my loving and most benign Lord give me continuall
perseverance in thie metrie and I will therebie count
runne the waie of thie commaundements; and
loving mercies will I never bee unmindfull of; I
have thorow the immaculate way of thie upright
commaundements, continued therein ever.
John Davis.
A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z
a. a. b. r. o. c. f. u. h. i. k. l. l. m. n. o. p. p. q. x. r. s. ſ. ſ. t. t. v. a. w. x. y. z.

4.—FROM *THE WRITING SCHOOLEMASTER*. BY JOHN DAVIES OF HEREFORD, 1663. ($5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$)

5.—FROM GETHING'S *CALLIGRAPHOTECHNICA*, 1652. ($9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$)

'A workmans hand hath Art and cunning showne
in setting this thie livelie Figure forth—
But neither Hand nor Pen unless thine owne,
is able to express thie Skill and Worth—
Which Thou to All thus freelie doth impart
like a true Master in this curious Art.'

W. B.

If, as is possible, Gething's portrait is reprinted from his first publication (1616), we should be justified in placing the date of his birth at about 1584.

The earliest Scottish practitioner of the craft comes within the scope of this paper, inasmuch as, after publishing his first book at St. Andrews, he removed to London. This was David Browne, whose book, a small octavo, was issued from the University press of St. Andrews in 1622, and forms one of the landmarks in the history of popular handwriting. I therefore transcribe the title at length.

The New Invention, | Intituled, | Calligraphia: | or, | The Arte Of | Faire Writing: | Wherein is comprehended the | whole necessarie Rules thereof: by which anie | who is capable and carefull to learne, may with- | out the helpe of any other Teacher, under God, | both bee informed concerning the right writing of the | most usuall Characters in the World; and perfectly | instructed how to write one of the most | frequent in Europe, called | the Secretarie. | Brought to a Methode, for the universall use | both of the Youth, and of all who haue eyther wan- | ted or neglected the occasion of Lear- | ning in their Youth. | By His Majesties Scribe, | Master David Browne. |

{ *Sainct-Andrewes,* | *Printed by Edward Raban, Printer to* | *the Vniversitie.* 1622 | *With Privelege.*

This little book bears no comparison with the beautiful Italian and Spanish productions of the century before. It is roughly printed; and, instead of the fine plates which formed the chief attraction of its predecessors, a few necessary examples were written by hand, into spaces left in

the text for the purpose. At the end is a quaint apology by the printer for the high price ('sixe shillinges sterling') at which the work was sold; a necessity caused, says he, 'partly since it is the Author's first Travels, and partly in respect of the tedious writing of so manie Characters, and much Writ, upon each Booke, after the Imprinting of the matter thereof. And fourthlie, because the author maintayneth two or three daylie to fill up, and write in, all the foresayd Exemplare Letters and Words, in everie Extract . . .'

In 1638 Browne published another book, *The Introduction to the true understanding of the whole Arte of Expedition in teaching to write*. In this he undertakes, with curious modernity, to teach the craft in six hours; and also takes up the cudgels in favour of those of his countrymen whose devotion to their king had already led them into keen competition with Englishmen. For his title announces also a discourse 'For removing a vulgare opinion against his native countrey of Scotland. He sheweth that it hath more excellent Prerogatives than any other Kingdome. Whereby it will rather follow, that a Scotishman is so much the more able to prosecute whatsoever hee undertaketh, and therefore so much the more to bee respected, by how so much he is more ingenuous than one of another nation.' We also get a useful insight into the habits of the scribe at that time, by the announcements that 'He practiseth the most part of the day in the Terme time, and most of the after noone in the vacation, at the *Cat* and *Fidale* in *Fleet-Street*, and most of the forenoone, at his house in *S. Johns* street, next above the Vnicorne, except when he is invited to the Country at any time, especially in the long vacation.'

'Where likewise *Mary Stewart* and her daughters, doe instruct young Noble and Gentle women in good manners, languages, writing, and other qualities, by his assistance and direction.'

Altogether this preface presents a pleasant and suggestive picture of the hard-working, business-like 'Scotishman,' pugnacious in defence of his country and craft, and dividing his time between the school of Mary Stewart and public practice, chiefly, one would infer, among lawyers. This, his second book, is illustrated by a single copper-plate, well written and engraved, of the useful current hand of the period.

In the space at my disposal it becomes impossible to do more than shortly allude to some of the contemporaries of the men whom I have selected as typical of their period. Thus reference may be made to Hester Inglis, or English, whose reputation was great both in England and on the Continent at the beginning of the seventeenth century; to Martin Billingsley, who was born in 1591, and published a set of good copies in 1618, at 'Bush-lane near London-stone'; and to William Comley of Henley-on-Thames, whose book, *A copy-book of all the most usual English hands, etc.*, appeared in 1622.

By the end of the seventeenth century, a complete change had taken place in the character of the hands exemplified. It was no longer necessary for an educated person to have a knowledge, not only of the languages of the Continent, but of the characteristics of their various styles of writing there in use. Thus English writing-masters settled down gradually to that entirely legible but quite commonplace variation of the flowing Italian script, which has dwelt among us right up to the time of the present generation. We at least can claim

the credit of introducing a new style; for the writing now demanded by the Civil Service Commissioners is essentially distinct from the old sloping hand, and has already set a standard throughout the country for all mercantile uses.

Among the pioneers of the new fashion, Gething has already been mentioned; but it would be impossible in any sketch of English calligraphy to pass over in silence the one man whose name has passed into the proverbial lore of the nation, Edward Cocker.

Cocker was born in 1631. His first book, *Plumæ Triumphus*, was published in 1657 with an engraved portrait, and thenceforward his books followed one another with a rapidity which excited the jealousy and disapprobation of his rivals. The arithmetic on which his fame rests was published in the probable year of his death, 1677, by John Hawkins, writing-master of Southwark, and had reached its fortieth edition by 1723.

Cocker was an expert engraver, and a fairly good writer. His fellows, perhaps with some justice, criticised his flourishes as wanting in grace and facility; but the criticism seems to our uneducated taste to apply generally to all the work of his time. As a curious point, it may be mentioned that the *Magnum in Parvo*, 1672, was engraved on silver plates, with what gain in execution is not very apparent. Cocker's instructions are quaintly phrased and not without practical merit, although most villainously printed. Our illustration (fig. 6) is taken from *The Pen's Transcendency*, an oblong quarto published in 1660.

One of Cocker's achievements was the engraving of a curious book, published in 1663 or 1664, by Richard Daniel, entitled *A Compendium of the*

usual Hands of England, etc. This work is dedicated to Charles the Second, and was several times reprinted; the edition of 1680 includes three plates engraved by Thos. Cross, Junr. The writing is only mediocre in quality, the author having been, apparently, an amateur with a somewhat fantastical religious bias; and its quaint wording will have more interest for the collector than its calligraphic excellence.

One more of the masters of this period may be given a passing word, in so high esteem was he held by his own and the succeeding generation—Colonel John Ayres, who, coming up to London as a country lad to serve as a footman to Sir William Ashurst, rose to a most honourable position in his profession as a writing-master, with such success that his income is stated at one time to have amounted to £800 a year—as Massey remarks, 'a fine income for a writing-master,' especially when we bear in mind the much greater value of money in those days. His first book, by 'John Ayres, Master of the Writing-School near St. Pauls,' issued in 1683, is a copy-book for commercial use, which furnishes a useful example of an early stage in the development of the modern style of writing. *The Accomplished Clerk*, as he entitled his volume, contains none of the beautiful varieties of writing to be found in earlier volumes, but only those legal or popular styles with which it would be convenient for a merchant to be acquainted. The flourishes have already lost their quaintness and freedom, and have stiffened down into a bare and uninteresting monotony; though, as far as mechanical execution goes, there is little fault to find (fig. 7).

The book was engraved by John Sturt, who, with Ayres' pupil, George Bickham, and Edward

6.—FROM *THE PEN'S TRANSCENDENCY*. BY EDWARD COCKER. ($7\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$)

7.—FROM *THE ACCOMPLISHED CLERK*. BY JOHN AYRES. ($7 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$)

Cocker, may be looked on as the chief representative of the art of the burin as far as concerns calligraphy.

Ayres published several books of instruction in account-keeping, which had a considerable vogue in their day, and, in 1695, he brought out his *Tutor to Penmanship*, also engraved by Sturt, and dedicated to King William the Third. The first edition of this work was much prized by collectors in the last century. He died suddenly, the date being uncertain, but apparently before 1709.

At this time the number of writing-masters becomes too great for individual mention. The art had lost its best characteristics, and its professors were soon to decline from such dignities and honours as they had undoubtedly acquired during the previous century. Good writing, unhappily, ceased to be an accomplishment to be cultivated and admired; and in our day it is generally looked on as an evidence of lack of character. But those who care to stray more deeply into this neglected by-way of the history of education, will find much to interest and reward them for their pains. For the vanished art of calligraphy has, even in its last and humblest manifestation, a literature of its own, and perhaps even more than is commonly supposed of human interest.

EDWARD F. STRANGE.

CONTEMPORARY PRINTED LISTS OF BOOKS PRODUCED IN ENGLAND

THE object of this paper is to indicate, in the briefest possible manner consistent with clearness, the various kinds of proof, now extant in print, of the existence at one time of not a few books, or even classes of books, that are at present almost, if not altogether, lost; or, at the least, very hard to meet with. This brief sketch will therefore, in effect, set up a Standard whereby bibliographers may be able to ascertain how far the books they are acquainted with represent the entire printed literature of any given period of England's story. The survival of books, and especially of anonymous books, has been very much a matter of chance; and it would seem that the time has now come when research, carried on upon scientific principles, should fill up the gaps that chance has left for us.

Our modern English Literature really begins with the advent into this country, in the spring of 1526, of the two editions, the one in 4to and the other in 8vo, of William Tyndale's first translation of the *New Testament*. So our first contemporary Bibliography of English books, in this case all printed abroad, is the document known as the 'Instrument of the 24th May 1530,' now preserved in Lambeth Palace Library; and which is calendared in *Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv., No. 6,402.

This deed was followed at intervals, during the

remainder of that king's reign, by other lists of condemned Protestant books. These lists, however, being all in manuscript, are outside the scope of this essay; and, for further information on this subject, we must refer our readers to the *Letters and Papers, etc.* above mentioned, which have been edited in such a masterly manner by the late Professor J. S. Brewer and Mr. James Gairdner.

Some scholars deny that the German printer Hans Luft ever printed any books at all, much less Tyndale's English works, at Marburg, before he went to Luther at Wittemberg. Indeed there are many interesting bibliographical nuts to crack in this obscure period of our printed literature. But we must pass on, merely remarking how few, proportionately, of these rare early editions are absolutely lost; especially when we recollect the fierce persecution to which they were exposed. For the mere possession of any one of these small octavos was, at that time, the surest of all passports to a cruel and ignominious death. They were printed in small octavo size in order to facilitate their being smuggled into this country in a man's clothes, or in his trunk,

The Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554 to 1640, are a most authoritative record of the avowed literature during those years; but, of course, secretly printed books at home or abroad are not noticed in them, except now and then quite incidentally. It has been our lot to devote the best part of twenty years to the privately printing, in five volumes, of a *Transcript* of these Registers, containing some 3,300 quarto pages. The result has been that a conspectus of the literature of those years is now within the reach of any student who cares to make use of this reprint. In

the above *Transcript*, v., pp. 5–22, will be found a remarkable List of Works, all printed on the Continent, between 1553 and 1558, for, or against, Queen Mary and her Cause. We were not prepared to find so many Latin, Spanish, and Italian books written in favour of the Queen, as are recorded in those pages.

Bishop John Jewell preached his famous sermon on 1 Cor. xi. 23, at Paul's Cross, on Sunday 31st March 1560. This gave rise to an interminable controversy between Bishop Jewell, Dean Alexander Nowell, Doctor William Fulke, and other Anglican Divines, on the one side; and the English Roman Catholic exiles at Antwerp, Louvain, Douay, etc., on the other. Here we may say in passing, that these English Roman Catholic books, printed abroad during Queen Elizabeth's reign, now form a decidedly rare class of books. Of one of them Parliament enacted, 35 *Eliz.*, that whosoever should be found to have it in his house should be guilty of high treason.

This Controversy brings us to our first article.

FULKE'S BIBLIOGRAPHIES IN THE ANGLICAN-CATHOLIC CONTROVERSY, 1560–1603.

Dr. William Fulke, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, gives us two lists of these books:

I. In his 'Doctor Thomas Heskins . . . overthrown.' *Printed by Henry Middleton for George Bishop. London*, 1579. 8°.

II. In his 'Retentive . . . Against Richard Bristow's "Motives."' *Printed by Thomas Vautrollier for George Bishop. London*, 1580. 8°.

At pages 39–81 of the fifth volume of the above-mentioned *Transcript, etc.*, will be found the titles

of most of the books printed by Robert Lekprevik at his house at the Nether Bow, Edinburgh, between 1561 and 1571; at page 85 of the same volume the titles of the four earliest texts in the *Admonition to the Parliament* Controversy, all the four being secretly printed; lastly, at page 93, there is given a list of the extraordinarily rare English 'Family of Love' tracts of [? 1574], made up from an inspection of the original copies now preserved in Lambeth Palace Library. Indeed that episcopal Library contains more pernicious literature (as an English Churchman of Elizabeth's reign would have regarded it) than any other Library in the kingdom; because, as these books were confiscated, they were sent there for safe custody. All these rare texts have passed through our hands.

Of the Martin Marprelate Tracts, the original editions of which are now hardly to be bought at any price, the best Bibliography is in our *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy*, 1588-1589 (*The English Scholar's Library*), 1879. 8vo. This also is based on the examination of the rare originals in Lambeth Palace Library.

We now come to a very well-known work:

1595. MAUNSELL'S CATALOGUE.

III. Andrew Maunsell. The First Part of the Catalogue of English printed Books. (Divinity.)
Printed by John Windet for Andrew Maunsell. London, 1595. fol.

IV. The Second Part, etc. [The Sciences Mathematical, Physic and Surgery.] *Printed by James Roberts for Andrew Maunsell. London*, 1595. fol.

In what is known, among Roman Catholics, as the Arch-Priest [George Blackwell] Controversy

between the Secular Priests of England on the one side, and the Jesuits headed by Robert Parsons on the other side, we get our next article:

W. C's BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE ARCH-PRIEST CONTROVERSY, 1601–1603.

V. W. C. A Reply, in the name of the united Priests, to Father Parson's *A Manifestation, etc.* 1603. 4°.

Some of these texts were printed abroad.

In 1606, appeared the following article:

1572–1606. BOOKS WRITTEN FOR, OR AGAINST, THE BROWNISTS.

VI. Peter Fairlambe, The Recantation of a Brownist. *Printed for Henry Gosson. London*, 1606. 4°.

It was apparently not till the middle of the reign of James I. that the London book-trade began to make some efforts at a serial Bibliography; but the following article, like so many other first attempts, did not apparently get beyond the first number.

9 OCT. 1618 – MAY 1619. HALF-YEARLY CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH BOOKS.

VII. A Catalogue of such English Books as lately have been, or now are, in printing for publication. From the ninth day of October 1618 until Easter Term [May 1619] next ensuing.

And from this form of beginning (though not in such perfect manner as hereafter may be performed) to be continued for every Half Year.

London, printed by W. Jaggard, 1618 [? 1619]. 4°. (Bodleian Press-Mark, Wood 22 D. (1).)

This solitary issue gives us the following List of London Publishing Houses in May 1619; ex-

clusive, of course, of the King's Printers and other Patentees:

William Aspley.
William Barret.
William Bladen.
Jacob Bloome.
Nicholas Bourne.
John Budge.
Walter Burre.
Nathaniel Butter.
John Grismand.
Henry Featherstone.
William Jaggard.
William Jones.
Matthew Lownes.
Samuel Man.
Thomas Man.
Robert Milbourne.
Nicholas Okes.
John Parker.
Ralph Rounthwaite.
Simon Waterson.
Edward Weaver.

Of these, Thomas Man comes first, as being the leading house in the trade; the Royal Printers, etc., apart.

Twice a year there was published, from 1598 to 1749, at the Fair, or Book Mart, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, under the authority of the Town Council, an official *Mess-Katalog*, or 'Fair Catalogue,' of the titles of books, in Latin and in modern continental languages, then and there offered for sale. In this *Katalog*, no English books appeared. Apparently English Literature was very little read on the Continent in those days.

In 1617, John Bill the Printer began to print, in Bonham Norton's Printing Office, a London edition of this *Mess-Katalog*, and continued the effort for about eleven years, 1617–1628, under the following regular *Mess-Katalog* title:

Catalogus Universalis pro Nundinis Francofurtensibus {*Vernalibus*, or *Autumnalibus*}, *de anno*—

Though some of these London editions bear the word *Francofurti* on the Title Page, they can readily be

distinguished from the official *Mess-Katalog*, partly by the different appearance of the type; and partly by the device of a Flying Mercury with his foot on a globe, that appears on some of the Title Pages.

A few English books appear in the London List for the Autumn of 1618; otherwise these Lists are bare of them until we come to our next article:

APRIL 1622 – [? APRIL] 1626. LISTS OF ENGLISH BOOKS IN THE LONDON EDITIONS OF THE FRANKFORT *MESS-KATALOG*.

VIII. *Catalogus Universalis pro Nundinis Francofurtensibus Autumnalibus, de anno* 1622. (Books printed in English since the last Vernal Mart, which was in April 1622, till this present October.)

And a similar Half Yearly List was issued up to 1626.

The reader must be warned here that many of the works in these Lists were not actually new books. Some of them were old stagers.

John Bill, then, certainly did print twenty-three numbers of this London Catalogue [Vernalibus 1617 – Vernalibus 1628]; but the British Museum Library (820, e. 5.) and the Bodleian Library (Ash. 1052, 4° P. 68 Arts., 4° P. 70 Arts.) put together cannot make up a complete set of it. Especially have we failed to meet with the two issues of 1626, which, for our present inquiry, are material. Our next article, however, carries the Bibliography five years further on; so that, one way or another, there was produced in London a contemporary Bibliography for the nine and a half years following April 1622.

[? APRIL] 1626 – NOV. 1631. A SUMMARY CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH BOOKS.

IX. A Catalogue of certain Books which have been published, and (by authority) printed, in England, both in Latin

and English, since the year 1626 until November this present year 1631. Now published for supply since the intermission of the *English Catalogue:* with intention hereafter to publish it exactly every year.

Imprinted at London, 1631. 4°.

(British Museum press-mark 821. 4. 1. (1).)

We next come to

1622–1624. GEE'S LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC ENGLISH BOOKS.

X. John Gee. The Foot out of the Snare, whereunto is added a Catalogue of such books as, in this Author's knowledge, have been vented, within two years last past, by the Priests and their Agents. *London*, 1624. 4°.

Perhaps one of the obscurest portions of our Literature is the Bibliography of the Hetheringtonians. This sect was in existence as early as 1597. It apparently originated with a Cambridge Student, the initials of whose names are T. L. He was succeeded by John Hetherington, a box-maker.

So our next Bibliography is to be found in a Sermon preached at Paul's Cross, after the said John Hetherington had publicly recanted his errors there.

1597–1627. THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HETHERINGTONIANS.

XI. Stephen Denison. The White Wolf. A Sermon preached at Paul's Cross, Feb. 11, 1627; wherein . . . the Hetherington faction . . . is . . . confuted. *London*, 1627. 4°.

For further information about T. L., John Hetherington, and Edmond Jessop, we must refer the reader to the Sermon itself. Apparently most of the first editions of these Hetheringtonian books have perished.

We now come to our earliest Classed Catalogues

of Foreign Books, issued by their importers in London. The following List may not be complete:

1628–1657. OCCASIONAL CATALOGUES OF IMPORTED FOREIGN BOOKS.

Year.		Importer.	Printer of the Catalogue.	Press Mark.
XII.	1628.	Henry Featherstone.	John Legatt.	B.M. 820. e. 5 (4).
XIII.	1635.	Robert Martin.	John Haviland.	Bodl. Ash. 1053.
XIV.	1637.	George Thomason.	John Legatt.	B.M. 820. a. 5 (5).
XV.	1647.	George Thomason.	John Legatt.	B.M. 820. a. 5 (7).
XVI.	1657.	Octavian Pulleyn.	[not stated].	Bodl. Wood 26 C. (11).

It is abundantly clear, from these bulky Lists, and also from the additional evidence that will be adduced later on, that the importation of Foreign books into London was then a much larger business than has been generally thought.

The thirty thousand Civil War Tracts collected by George Thomason, and now preserved in the British Museum, are of themselves a most famous Bibliography; for he not only noted upon each one the exact day of its first appearance, but has also left us a manuscript catalogue of them all. This famous Collection, however, has never yet been adequately worked, whether for historical or for bibliographical purposes.

XVII. 1640–1660. THE THOMASON COLLECTION OF CIVIL WAR TRACTS.

A curious question arises here. Was Philemon Stephens the first English publisher who put a List of his Publications at the end of one of his books?

The volume marked Wood 22 D., in the Bodleian, contains the following Catalogues in 4to, which

Anthony à Wood had evidently taken from the ends of the several books, and on which he has written the following dates:

XXI. 1656. Rev. John Ley's other Works.
Wood 22 D. (2)

XXII. 1656. A Catalogue of the other Books published by Dr. Owen, and sold by Philemon Stephens at the *Gilded Lion*, Paul's Churchyard. Wood 22 D. (3)

XXIII. 1657. These Books are to be sold by Philemon Stephens at the *Gilded Lion*, Paul's Churchyard. Wood 22 D. (5)

XXVI. 1658. A Catalogue of Books printed for, and to be sold by Richard Davis, at his shop, near Oriel College in Oxford.
Wood 22 D. (4)

By 1658, the practice of putting such lists in books had become general.

Dr. John Owen was at that time Dean of Christchurch College, Oxford, and most of his books were published at Oxford. The difficulty lies in finding the quarto book from which Wood took XXII. It was probably Doctor Owen's *Fast Sermon* [*on 2 Chron.* xv. 2] *to the Parliament, October* 30, 1656; but we have been unable to meet with a copy of this work.

Here meets us the first of the many Catalogues of Plays.

1656. A CATALOGUE OF PLAYS.

XXVII. T. G. [Thomas Goffe.] A Catalogue of All Plays. *London*, 1656. 4°.

Our next article is a Summary Catalogue.

1637–1657. ENGLISH DIVINITY BOOKS.

XXVIII. J. R. [John Rothwell.] A Catalogue of approved

Divinity Books which have been printed, or reprinted, about twenty years past; and continued down to 18th June 1657. Much enlarged. *London*, 1657. 8°.

The following bookseller has sometimes been mistaken for William [Juxon, Bishop of] London.

1658–1660. LONDON'S LISTS OF BOOKS.

XXIX. William London. (*a*) A Catalogue of the most vendible books in England. . . . The like Work never yet performed.

(*b*) A Supplement of New Books, 1 Aug. 1657 – 1 June 1658. Which is intended to be continued from year to year.

Printed in the year 1658 [*London*]. 4°.

XXX. A Catalogue of New Books. Being such as have been printed from that time [1 June 1658] till Easter Term [May] 1660. *London*, [31 May] 1660. 4°.

We now come to an article of singular interest.

1662–1663. A PRINTED ANNUAL LIST OF BOOKS ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.

XXXI. A Catalogue of such Books as have been entered in the Register of the Company of Stationers and printed, from the 25th of December 1662 to the 25th of December 1663. Published by G. T. [George Tokefield], Clerk to the Company of Stationers. *London, Printed for Samuel Speed, and are to be sold at his shop at the Rainbow, near the Inner Temple Gate, in Fleet Street.* 1664. 4°.

(Bodleian Press-Mark, Wood 22 D. (8).)

On the last page, it is stated, 'The like Catalogue hereafter is intended to be yearly set forth by the Clerk aforesaid.' The Fire of London probably put an end to this attempt.

In the Bodleian Library (Ash. 1053) is the following extremely rare book-list:

[1667.] BOOKS THAT HAD ESCAPED THE FIRE OF LONDON.

XXXII. The late conflagration consumed my own, together with the stock of books (as it were) of the Company

of Stationers, London. Since that lamentable disaster, next my own loss, this doth trouble me, That when any of those few ingenious persons who desire books, inquire after them; they are often answered (by such as have them not), That they are all burnt. Which discourageth any further inquiry, not only to the Learned, but even of country Chapmen. Wherefore to let all men know, notwithstanding the late dreadful calamity, that there are books yet to be had; and for the convenience of the ingenious buyers: I publish this ensuing Catalogue.

From my shop in Gresham College, next the Stair or Warehouse in Moor-fields, against the Cardinal's Cap.
(signed in ink) THOMAS ROOKES.

We are now come to a work of the first importance in this series of Bibliographies—*The Term Catalogues*. These were published in folio, price sixpence each, about the middle of each of the four Law Terms, that is, in

November, for Michaelmas Term.	May, for Easter Term, and
February, for Hilary Term.	June, for Trinity Term.

The publication of these lists was continued through five different series, over a period of forty-one years; and they are so complete that he, who will, may know the History and the Literature of that period of time as well as he can know the History and the Literature of the Victorian Age.

We often wonder whether Lord Macaulay, or Mr. Thackeray, ever saw this perfectly wonderful record of English books. We fancy that neither of them had that piece of good fortune. How they would have delighted in these issues! and how much richer we should have been for their study of them! These classified Catalogues give the prices of most of the editions: nowhere else obtainable, except in Clavel's

Summary Catalogues (to be presently noticed) which are professedly based upon them. They are crammed with the titles of racy anonymous tracts, fugitive enough, but which give us 'the very age and body of the Time, his form and pressure.'

It was the wish to bring *The Term Catalogues* back again from the dead, that occasioned the writing of this paper.

NOV. 1668 – JUNE 1709. THE TERM CATALOGUES OF BOOKS PRINTED IN ENGLAND.

[FIRST SERIES. 7 TERMS. 7 NUMBERS.]

XXXIII. Mich. Term (Nov.) 1668 – Easter Term[1] (May) 1670. Mercurius Librarius. fol.

Nos. 1 and 2 have this colophon: *Collected by, and printed for, John Starkey, Bookseller at the Mitre, in Fleet street, near Temple Bar.*

Nos. 3 to 7 this: *Collected by John Starkey and Robert Clavel.*

[SECOND SERIES. 18 TERMS. 18 NUMBERS.]

XXXIV. Easter Term[1] (May) 1670 – Trin. Term (June) 1674. A Catalogue of Books Printed and Published in London. fol.

No 1 has the following notice and colophon :—

The Publishers of *Mercurius Librarius*, by their unreasonable demands for inserting the Titles of books ; and also [by] their imperfect collecting, omitting many, and refusing all under 1s. [in] price ; hath occasioned the printing of this *Catalogue*: wherein those defects are rectified. *Collected by, and printed for, the Booksellers of London.*

No. 3 has this colophon, which continues to the end of this Series: *Collected by Robert Clavel in Cross-Keys Court in Little Britain.*

[THIRD SERIES. 24 TERMS. 24 NUMBERS.]

XXXV. Mich. Term (Nov.) 1674 – Trin. Term (June) 1680. A Catalogue of Books Printed and Published in London. fol.

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[1] It is to be noted that the first number of this Series is for the same Term (Easter 1670) as the last number of the previous Series : so that from Michaelmas Term 1668 to Trinity Term 1674, there were 24 Terms, but 25 numbers.

The colophon in No 1. reads: *Collected by Robert Clavel;* in No. 2, *Printed by Andrew Clark, and are to be sold by the Booksellers of London;* in No. 12, *Printed for the Booksellers of London.* This last was the usual colophon henceforward to the end of this Serial in 1709.

[FOURTH SERIES.[1] 60 TERMS. 58 NUMBERS.]

XXXVI. Mich. Term (Nov.) 1680 – Trin. Term (June) 1695. A Catalogue of Books Printed and Published in London. fol.

[FIFTH SERIES.[2] 55 TERMS. 52 NUMBERS.]

XXXVII. Mich. Term (Nov.) 1696 – Trin. Term (June) 1709. A Catalogue of Books Printed and Published in London. fol.

Of these five series, the Bodleian Library possesses the first four, in Anthony à Wood's own copy (Wood, 658); besides some scattered numbers of the fifth series, which is evidently the most rare of the five.

The British Museum Library should be able to to make up (from P.P. 6480, b. 1. (1); 820, l. 13 (1); and scattered numbers) at least one perfect set of the 159 numbers that were actually issued through the 164 Terms from Michaelmas Term (Nov.) 1668 to Trinity Term (June) 1709.

To those who can read between the lines of these *Term Catalogues*, it is most interesting to watch the pressure of tyranny upon the freedom of the Press all through the reign of James II. The publications gradually decreased in number, and the

[1] No. 23 is for two Terms, Easter and Trinity, 1686. There is wrong numbering after No. 31. There was no issue of *The Term Catalogue* in Hilary Term (February), 1689; evidently because the Revolution, then in progress in London, had upset business for a time; but No. 32 (it should be 33), for the next Easter Term, was double the usual size, to make up for it.

[2] The first 49 Numbers are each for one Term. The last 3 are for, as follows:—

No. 50 Easter and Trinity Terms, 1708.
No. 51 Michaelmas Term, 1708, and Hilary Term, 1709.
No. 52 Easter and Trinity Terms, 1709.

books that did appear were wanting in robustness of thought and vigour of opinion. Then, as soon as the Revolution of 1688 became an accomplished fact, there was a joyous rebound; and books of every kind swarmed forth from the press.

From the *Term Catalogues*, Robert Clavel compiled the following four Summary Catalogues, in which the classification is, first that of Topic, as Divinity; then that of Size; and then that of Price; with an Index of Names at the end:—

1673–1696. CLAVEL'S SUMMARY ENGLISH CATALOGUES.

XXXVIII.	A Catalogue of all the Books printed in England since the dreadful Fire of London in 1666.	1673 fol.
XXXIX.	The General Catalogue of Books, etc.	1675 fol.
XL.	Do.	1680 fol.
XLI.	Do. Fourth Edition.	1696 fol.

The next effort was for the London importers of foreign books to attempt a Term Catalogue of such works.

MAY 1676 – JUNE 1679. THE TERM CATALOGUES OF IMPORTED FOREIGN BOOKS.[1]

XLII. Catalogus Librorum in regionibus transmarinis nuper editorum.

Nos. 1 to 7 have this colophon: *Published by Moses Pitt at the Angel in Paul's Churchyard*; Nos. 8 and 9 this: *Published by George Wells at the Sun in Paul's Churchyard, and Samuel Carr at the King's Head in Paul's Churchyard*; No. 10 this: *Published by Samuel Carr at the King's Head in Paul's Churchyard.*

From this last publication, Robert Clavel made up another Summary Catalogue.

1681. CLAVEL'S SUMMARY FOREIGN CATALOGUE.

XLIII. Catalogus Librorum Latinorum in diversis Europæ partibus Impressorum, 1670–1680. *London*, 1681. fol.

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[1] There were 11 Terms but only 10 numbers, the first nine being for one Term each. No. 10 for Easter and Trinity Terms, 1679.

The established reputation of the *Term Catalogues* brought forward many competitors. The earliest of these that we have met with was a weekly Book List, and is our next article.

APRIL 1680. MERCURIUS LIBRARIUS.

XLIV. Mercurius Librarius, or a faithful Account of all Books and Pamphlets, 16–22. April 1680. fol.
Nos. I. and II. ? No more published.
(Bodleian Press-Mark. Wood 660 B.)

Our next article had even a shorter existence.

JUNE 1693. BIBLIOTHECA NOVISSIMA.

XLV. Bibliotheca Novissima, or a Catalogue of Books on divers subjects. June 1693. 8°. ? No more published.
(Bodleian Press-Mark. Wood 22 D. (8).)

The next competitor was a more serious one.

1 JANUARY 1699 – 25 MARCH 1704. BIBLIOTHECA ANNUA.

XLVI. Bibliotheca Annua, or the Annual Catalogue for the year 1699: being an exact Catalogue of all English and Latin Books printed in England from January 1699 to March 25, 1700. *London. Sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers' Hall.* 1700. 4°.
Vol. II. was from 25 March 1700 to 25 March 1701. 4°.
Vol. III. „ 25 March 1701 to 25 March 1702. 4°.
Vol. IV. „ 25 March 1702 to 25 March 1704. 4°.

The Bodleian Library possesses volumes i. and iv.

Our next Catalogues are of Religious Tracts, and are quoted here because, being mostly anonymous, they are so hard to find.

1705–1708. LISTS OF RELIGIOUS TRACTS.

XLVII. [W. Hawes.] A new Catalogue of all the small Tracts lately printed for the promotion of Christian knowledge and practice in all sorts of people. *London*, [1705] fol.

XLVIII. [Joseph Downing.] A new Catalogue of Books against vice and immorality; and for promoting . . . the Christian Religion. *London*, 1707. 8°.
A second edition, *London*, 1708. 8°

Our next article carries us out of the reign of Queen Anne.

MAY – DEC., 1714. LINTOTT'S MONTHLY CATALOGUE.

XLIX. The Monthly Catalogue of Books published in May 1714. fol.

To be continued monthly.

No. 1 has this colophon:

London. Printed for Bernard Lintott at the Cross Keys, between the two Temple Gates, in Fleet Street.

The British Museum set (820. l. 13 (4)) of this serial ends in the middle of No. 8 for December 1714. We are therefore unable to state how long this periodical continued in existence.

We have now reached the last bibliographical gap in the Literary History of England. We have not met with any piece of contemporary bibliography in the eight years from the disappearance of Lintott's *Monthly Catalogue* to the appearance of our next article.

MARCH 1723 – DEC. 1729. WILFORD'S MONTHLY CATALOGUE.

L. The Monthly Catalogue, containing an exact Register of all Books, Sermons, Plays, Poetry, and Miscellaneous Pamphlets, printed and published in London or the Universities. *London. Printed for John Wilford, at the Three Flower-de-Luces in Little Britain.*

Vol. I.	March 1723 – December 1724.	4°.
Vol. II.	1725 – 1726.	4°.
Vol. III.	1727 – 1728.	4°.
Vol. IV.	1729.	4°.

This last volume ends with No. LXXX. for December 1729. We have, however, a shrewd suspicion that this serial did continue through 1730, and that it was killed by the appearance of our next article.

LI. 1731–1860. The Gentleman's Magazine.

In January 1731, Edmund Cave inaugurated the everlasting reign of the Sixpenny Monthly Magazines by the issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, No. 1. Its great success stirred up the fiercest possible competition. In April 1732 appeared its strongest opponent, *The London Magazine*, in which we believe that John Wilford had charge of the Monthly List of New Books. For at the end of each of these sixpenny magazines was a List of New Books. It was very often defective by being crowded out by other matter. Still, by combining all these Monthly Lists together, and especially not forgetting the *Scots Magazine*, with its fuller List of Books printed in Scotland, one may be able to get at the books of the day, if not at an exhaustive bibliography, of that age. Since the appearance of these sixpenny magazines, to the present hour, there has never been wanting in our literature a concurrent Bibliography.

The Age of George II. has a special fascination for some minds; and yet how little has *it* been worked. Who has yet worked at the skits upon Sir Robert Walpole, distinguishing truth from falsehood? What an insight into this age could be gained by a sagacious, first-hand, and impartial study of the *Craftsman*! How would that insight be increased by a just estimate of, say, Edmund Curll's publications! Again, who has ever given us a study of Alexander Pope from the point of view of the enemies of his lifetime? His enemies since his death have not yet done with him. Let no man think that the riches of English Literature are all spent! They have hardly been touched.

Our remaining bibliographical serials are so well known that we need only just mention their names.

Various issues of this Summary Catalogue were made from time to time, some of them with classified indexes.

LIII. 1802–1860. Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser. 4°.

LIV. 1837 to the present date. The Publishers' Circular. 8° and fol.

LV. 1858 to the present date. The Bookseller. 8°.

One more hint, and we must end. The eleven volumes of Heber's Sale Catalogue (1832. 8vo) make a perfect literary monument. It is an open secret that not a few of the rare books—especially of those recorded in vol. iv. (English Poetry and Drama)—that were dispersed at that sale have virtually disappeared since. No one knows where they have got to. A sharp watch should therefore be kept for their reappearance.

We have now glanced at some fifty-five Bibliographies which help, in different ways, to tell the story of English Mind during the last three hundred years. There is something exhilarating in looking at a vast Literature as a whole, and not as the partisan of any particular section of it.

Without any contradiction, among many other blessings, the British Empire possesses the oldest, the most diversified, and the noblest of all modern Literatures. Let us then explore it! Let us turn what we find to the delight and instruction of this and future generations! Let not the Lamp of Knowledge ever go out!

EDWARD ARBER.

ON TWO PLATES IN SOTHEBY'S 'PRINCIPIA TYPOGRAPHICA

PLATE 78 of Sotheby's *Principia Typographica* is a reproduction of an impression from a wood-block containing the first page of the Dutch text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. 'The engraving' (I quote Sotheby's words) 'appears to be a facsimile of an edition with which we are totally unacquainted. It is evidently coarsely copied from one of the four earliest editions, but of the original from which the text under the design has been taken, we are unable to obtain any information. It appears to have been executed by the same hand as copied Plate 68 from the *Biblia pauperum*, and is evidently intended for the illustration of the same work.' The Plate 68 thus referred to represents the ninth leaf (i) of a *Biblia pauperum*. Of it Sotheby remarks: 'The engraving is evidently intended to represent some original. All we can state is, that if an edition does exist engraved throughout in the same style . . . it must present the most grotesque series of wood-engravings on this subject that could well be designed. It may have been engraved as an illustration for some work on the Block Books.'

On comparing the two plates, it is impossible to avoid a strong sense of the difference in execution between Plate 68 and the design in the upper part of Plate 78. The former is an almost incredibly rude and clumsy imitation of the original block-book; so clumsy, that hardly a line is identical,

Dat i capittel

Dat eerste capittel

Van lucifers val

Genesis eerste capittel

God sciep den mensche in ghelikenisse nae sinen beelde

Genesis eerste capittel

Ier beghint die spieghel der menschelicker behoudenisse Ock soe mach hi daer in sien dat hi overmits des vyants te droch verdoet is Ende hoe si overmits der barmhertichevt goods weder versoent si Lucifer hier omme verbief hy hetegehen god sinen ewighen scepper ende in enen oghen bliesoe is hivander hoecheyt der hemelen neder gheworpen inde hellen Ende om deser saken wille soe dacht god dat menschelycke gheslacht te cen

pen om dat hi weder in dien wederom mecht maken den val van lucifer ende van sinen ghesellen Daer omme die duuel dat hem ydende altijt den mensche laech de ende hi dacht hem altijt te verleyden totten overteede des ghebots Ende vercoes daer om een gheslacht van cente hands-servent dat recht op ghinck ende dat cē maechdelycke hoeste hadde In desen servente soe ghi

and the whole resembles a pen and ink drawing by an unpractised hand. But the design on Plate 78 is a close copy of the corresponding double cut in the early editions of the *Speculum*, and is not without traces of intelligent copying in the variation of some of the details; though, on the other hand, the way the mottoes at the foot of the designs are run into the pillars bounding the field is clumsy enough. This is due to the fact that the width of the cut in the imitation is four millimetres less than in the original; but the woodcutter did not compress the mottoes to suit the narrower dimensions.

In the year 1894, the wood-block from which the impression reproduced by Sotheby in Plate 78 was taken, was offered for sale to the Trustees of the British Museum, and was purchased for the Department of Printed Books. It was reported, plausibly enough, by the person who sold it to the Museum, to have been found some fifty years ago during the demolition or alteration of an old house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and to have been since that time in the possession of his family. This statement was quite consistent with the fact that Sotheby, at the time of the publication of his *Principia Typographica* in 1858, though the possessor of an impression from the block, was entirely ignorant of the existence of the block itself. Moreover, any suspicion which might have arisen that the block was a forgery designed to impose on a collector of the school or period of Dibdin was rendered improbable by the appearance of age which it presented. On the other hand the remarkable character of the text accompanying the designs was recognised as extremely difficult to explain, on the supposition that the block was of an antiquity approaching that of the original editions. A very cursory glance was

enough to make it evident that the text was copied from an edition in the type used from 1478 to 1484 by Jan Veldener at Utrecht and Kuilenburg. Though the imitation of Veldener's type is extremely rude, yet the resemblance is too striking to be accidental. The only edition of the *Speculum* in this type at present known is the edition in quarto, printed at Kuilenburg in 1483; this is in Dutch, and contains the original cuts, sawn in half in order to fit the smaller page. A comparison shows at once that the text of our block is copied directly from this quarto edition, the blunders committed in the process being very curious. For instance, in the printed edition, the first two lines of the text are set back to leave room for an initial H; but as they are the only lines on the page, the cutter did not notice that they were not of the normal length, until he had finished them and begun on the longer lines of the next page. The consequences are, first, that there is no room left for an initial at all, and secondly, that while the content of the first two lines is identical with the lines in the printed text, the other lines, which should be longer but are not, contain less matter than those. Hence the lines are divided differently, and it is not surprising to find that the text of the block ends in the middle of a monosyllabic word. In two places 'v' is used for 'u' in the middle of a word, a very unlikely slip for a mediæval workman. Otherwise, with the exception of two minor errors, the omission of an 'r' in one place and the insertion of an 'e' in another, which appear not to be proper alternative spellings, the two texts correspond, as far as they go, letter for letter. But the portion of the text belonging to the design which is contained on the block is little more than

one-third of the whole; so that, unless the remainder was intended to be printed on the other side of the leaf, it seems impossible that the block can have ever been, or have been intended to form, part of an edition of the *Speculum* destined for publication. In this connection the way in which the lines are crowded together at the foot of the block is also noteworthy. To be set against this destructive evidence there are certain facts on the other side; *e.g.* that in the block the designs are whole, and must have been copied from a folio edition printed before they were cut in half; and that neither in the 1483 edition, nor in any of the early editions, are there any headlines above the design such as are found on the block.

But recently a new point has come to light which proves conclusively that whether a forgery or not, the block is not a modern forgery. An impression from it is included in the collections towards his projected history of printing (formerly MS. Harl. 5934, No. 101), made by the notorious John Bagford, who died in 1716. It is found in company with the *Biblia pauperum* leaf 'i,' reproduced in Sotheby's Plate 68, with another leaf of the same, signed 'd,' and with a leaf from the *Cantica Canticorum*; these three being in the same style. But while of the first and third of these there are three impressions, and of the second two, there is only one copy of the *Speculum* leaf; and this, joined to the difference in style, may tend to dissociate the *Speculum* from the rest. All are, however, printed on the same paper, a paper apparently of Bagford's own period, bearing the watermarks K W M, and a posthorn surmounted by a crown. But this fact, of course, only connects the prints, not the blocks from which the impressions were taken.

Any solution of the question of origin must be preceded and influenced by a determination of the relations existing between the two groups, and between the two parts of the *Speculum* block. In regard to this latter, the fact that the headline above the design is in appearance identical with the text below seems to connect the upper and lower portions inseparably, and suggests that the person who cut the block had some experience and skill in handling designs, but none in reproducing letters. In respect of the other point, though it is difficult to believe that the execution of the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum* leaves is due to the same hand, the difficulty is hardly to be solved at present. If the *Speculum* block is to be viewed in connection with the other leaves, all of them may be held to be either an attempt at imitations of the general appearance of block-books prepared by Bagford as illustrations to his history, or as deliberate fabrications by a person who, while retaining possession of the blocks themselves, palmed off the impressions on the ignorant biblioclast as being printed by him from the original blocks of genuine ancient editions. If it is to be dealt with as separate from, and older than, the rest, it may be explained as an essay by a prentice hand produced as an exercise in his art; which came into the hands of Bagford or of some other person, and there became associated with the rest. Some support is given to the first explanation by the existence in the Douce collection at Oxford of several blocks of a grotesque alphabet, large quantities of impressions from which are among Bagford's collections. In any case, whatever its origin, the *Speculum* block is of an age sufficient to command respect and interest.

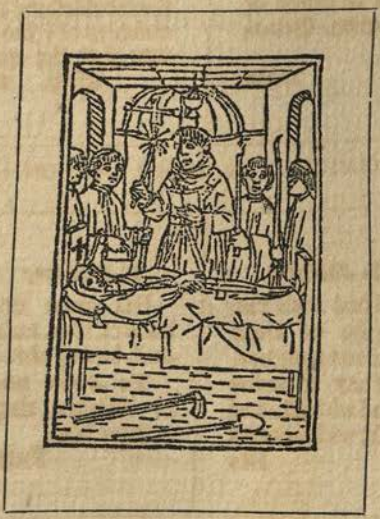
ROBERT PROCTOR.

LITTLE BOOKS

IF books were classified by size and shape alone, we should find that many of the same laws applied to our mental and bodily raiment; for books, like clothes, are subject to the decrees of fashion, the flux and re-flux of the mode, the straining after novelty combined with a dislike of breaking with the past, which taken all together will cause the survival of the unfittest. In all changes there are limits of deviation, since everything is governed by its environment. The philosophy of clothes has to take account of climate, health, and the supply of available materials; and the weight and measurement of books must depend upon our capacities of strength and eye-sight, though there have been volumes as tall as a man and others as tiny as a finch-egg. The necessities of each society will determine the size of its books. A Bedouin is content with a two-inch Koran, and the Abyssinian with a mere ribbon of charms. We have seen books of devotion in Sanskrit and Tamil hardly as large as a 'diamond Pickering.' The London 'Thumb-Bible' of 1616, imitated from Weever's '*Agnus Dei*,' Newbery's 'Bible in Miniature,' the *Kern des Bybels*, printed at the Hague in 1750, and the microscopic *Petit Paroissien de l'Enfance*, are some of the best-known examples of our European 'thumb-books.' Another class of diminutive volumes was meant for the convenience of travellers. Didot brought out a *Bibliothèque en Miniature*, six volumes of extracts in a case, which measured

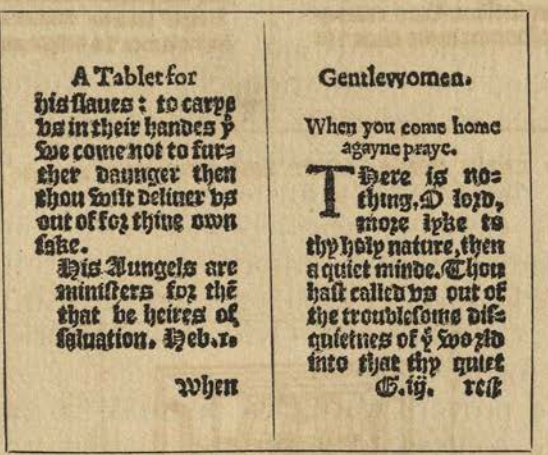
PElli mee ꝯsumptꝫ car-
nibus adhesit os meũ
⁊ derelicta sũt tm̃modo la-
bia circa dẽtes meos. Mise-
remini mei miseremini mei
saltem uos amici mei: quia
manꝰ dñi tetigit me. Qua-
re persequimini me sicut de-
us: ⁊ carnibus meis satura-
mini? Quis mihi tribuat
ut scribant sermones mei.
Quis mihi det ut exarent
in libro stilo ferreo ⁊ plum-
bi lamina uel celte sculpan-
tur in silice. Scio enim ꝙ
redemptor meus uiuit ⁊ in
nouissimo die de terra sur-
recturus sum ⁊ rursum cir-
cũdabor pelle mea: ⁊ in car-
ne mea uidebo deum salua-
torem meum: Quem visu-
rus sum ego ipse ⁊ oculi mei
ꝯspecturi sunt ⁊ non alius
Reposita est hec spes mea
in sinu meo. ℟. Domine se-
cundũ actũ meũ noli me iu-
dicare nihil dignum in cõspe-
ctu tuo egi. ideo precor maie-
statem tuam. Ut tu deus de-
leas iniquitatem meam. ℣.
Amplius laua me domine ab
iniusticia mea ⁊ a delicto meo

LATIN *HORÆ.* MATT. MORAVUS, NAPLES, 1486

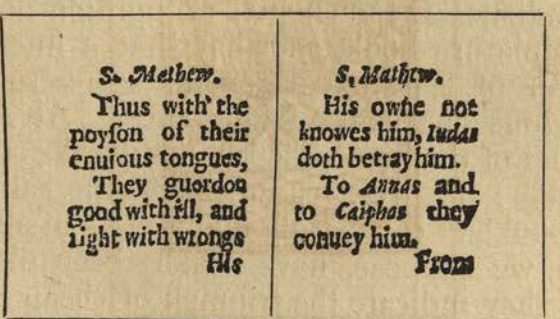


LATIN *HORÆ.* VENICE, *c.* 1500

LATIN *HORÆ*. PARIS, *c.* 1500



A TABLET, ETC. W. SERES, LONDON, 1574



VERBUM SEMPITERNUM, BY JOHN TAYLOR, THE WATER POET. [THE FIRST THUMB-BIBLE.] LONDON, 1616

less than three inches in height: and a rival soon produced the *Œuvres Choisies de Gresset*, with other public favourites, in a *Bibliothèque Portative* of the same dimensions. Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls in the time of James the First, invented a postchaise library which fitted into a case like a folio, bound in olive-green leather with an Italian design. The little books are packed in three compartments, and they are all bound alike in vellum stamped with gold; but there are coloured silk ribbons in red, blue, and green, which serve to distinguish the subjects. The blue indicates theology and philosophy, and in this class we find the Imitation, the meditations of St. Augustine, the moralities of Epictetus, the philosophical books of Cicero, and others, sixteen in all. The red ribbon marks the fourteen ancient historians, including Cæsar's Commentaries, Sallust and Tacitus, and other indispensable authorities. The third shelf in the box is devoted to sixteen poets with ribbons of green; Catullus and Ovid, the historical Lucan, and so forth.

The proverb warns us against 'a great book,' and we confess to a certain dislike towards the elephant-folio and the portentous series of the Bollandists. D'Israeli cites an opinion in favour of the miniature book, showing that a huge folio is a terror of learning, a general scare-crow, and a dangerous 'harbour of ignorance.' At Addison's banquet of the books the Folio still takes the top of the table; the Twelves are below the salt, and the slim booklets can hardly find a place at all. Little books, we suppose, have usually been disliked, so far as they indicate the triumph of cheap literature. The Antwerp bookseller complained to Dupuy that his works were so small as to frighten away the

customers, and this when every warehouse was filled with dwarfish classics, and every Dutch waistcoat contained a theological treatise. To please a true 'microphile,' a book should not contain useful information, and should have been issued in a choice and delicate fashion. It must be a real book, and not a photographer's film, a child's handbook, or a toy for the doll's-house. We should reject the productions of the writing-machine, which according to Mr. Fitzgerald can copy the Bible 'twenty-two times in the space of one square inch.' We might accept the old Homer in a nut-shell; but we would not receive a poem written on a barley-corn or carved like the inscription on a gem. A mere scroll of charms might be excluded; but we count as a book the MS. *Adi Granth*, containing extracts from the Sacred Book of the Sikhs, in a volume three-quarters by half of an inch, one copy of which was successfully bound by Mr. Zaehnsdorf.

The most interesting class of little books is found among the *Horæ*, or *Livres d'Heures*, composed of extracts from the Breviary with additional prayers and devotions. When first authorised they were chiefly repetitions of the church-service; in course of time, hymns, prayers, and choral responses were inserted; and we have seen a French 'primer' of the same kind, which contained only extracts from the Psalter, a Litany of the Saints, and the office for the Burial of the Dead.

These prayer-books varied very much in size, but there seems to have always been a tendency towards minuteness. Some loved to enshrine their books in gold, and to adorn them with rubies; some preferred a handy volume, if they were always to carry it about, like the Ironsides with their pocket Bibles, or the Huguenots with their Psalms

by Marot. When parchment was dear the thicker sizes dwindled into pamphlets; and perhaps the extremity of cheapness was reached, just before the era of printing, when a strip of paper was covered with a few pious sentences and folded into the form of a booklet. Richard de Bury spoke of the ancient book-thieves who would cut out the margins and blank headings from a vellum; and Boccaccio saw the mangled folios at Monte Cassino, where the Brethren would shave the edges to get materials for the little Psalters required by the peasants. When kings and queens were customers, the vellum prayer-books were adorned with the miniatures that are classed among 'the highest marvels of human skill.' Mr. Middleton deals with the whole subject in his work upon Illuminated Books. It appears that about the end of the fourteenth century there was a great demand for the decorated *Livres d'Heures*. The monastic artists lost their monopoly in the fierce competition; and the new Guilds, formed for the purpose, turned out their goods with a mechanical celerity which was destructive of anything like refinement. The miniature was destined to be replaced by the woodcut and the engraving from metal; but before this happened there was another revival of the taste for book-decoration. The work of Jehan Foucquet still survives in France, and at the Vatican we may examine a book painted by Pinturrichio himself, or by Attavante, the pupil of Fra Angelico. We have seen in England a fifteenth century 'Missal,' written at Le Mans, and afterwards bound for Henri Trois with all his fantastic emblems, in which the borders represent the alleys of an exquisite garden, with flowers closely imitated from nature and groups of peacocks to supply an abund-

ance of colour. Mr. Middleton tells us of other treasures prepared for the merchant-princes of Florence and Venice; and we note his praises of the vellum as brilliant as ivory, of the dark splendour of the writing, the 'Amorini' nestling in the foliage and the fawn pursued in the glen.

The smallest examples were about two inches square, and were often set in gold or silver-gilt, and fitted with rings for hanging them by a chain from the belt. We shall describe a French example of the fourteenth century, which belonged to Joanna the Second of Naples, and formed part of the celebrated collection of the Duchesse de Berry. The Calendar shows the Signs of the Zodiac and the occupations of the people month by month. The Signs display a certain humour in the artist's mind, the Crab being replaced by a scarlet lobster, while the terrible Sagittary has the body of a hound, and the Goat is like a hermit-crab entangled in the shell of a nautilus. We may note a stone-hooded fireplace in which the farmer warms his soup, the maiden with an armful of April flowers, and the knight with hawk on hand, riding out like Duke Theseus 'on a morrow of May.' In July we already see the half-clad reapers among the corn; there is a threshing-month and a sowing-month, and in October the wine-vat is trodden. In November the swineherd beats down the beech-mast and acorns, and the year concludes with the preparation of the salted meat. In a long series of miniatures the Saints bear their popular emblems; we recognise St. James with his cockle-hat, and the Giant who fords the deep; St. Catharine is there with her wheel, and St. Barbara carrying the palm-branch. Every portrait is distinct, with diapered backgrounds in gold and bright colours; the borders are of ivy-

branches, ending here and there in grotesques and scrolls. The paintings of the Nativity and the Enthronement of the Virgin are set above rustic vignettes of the chicken rescued from the fox, and white rabbits playing in the grass. A Litany of the Saints is decorated after a similar fashion, the vignettes under the principal figures showing a lion, or a monster of the desert, the wolf seizing a lamb, and other signs of martyrdom. The ivy-borders round the Psalms are still more delicately adorned with hoopoes and goldfinches, and bright-coloured garden-birds like the blue-tit and chaffinch.

Another precious little volume is 'Anne Boleyn's Gold Book,' now in the British Museum. This is a book of English Psalms bound in a gold cover, with black enamel round the tracery and on the engraved panels of the back. These covers measure no more than $1\frac{7}{8}$ by $1\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch; and we may notice that each has a ring, showing that it was meant to be a 'girdle-book,' like a little Dutch book in the same collection which shows the strap-like continuation of the leather binding by which it was slung to the belt. The 'Gold Book' is especially interesting for its portrait of Henry the Eighth, and because of the tradition that the queen gave it on the scaffold to one of her maids of honour, a lady of the family of Wyat. There is, however, another 'most curious little prayer-book' to which a similar tradition has been attached, being a volume of Prayers bound in gold and black enamel, with a design apparently taken from Holbein. This was described by Vertue, the engraver, in 1745, as one of the books of prayers 'given to Queen Anne Boleyn's Maids of Honour'; it came to Lord Romney as the representative of the Wyat family. Here we may notice as an example of fine workmanship, somewhat later in date,

the golden cover of a small *Livre d'Heures* in the South Kensington Museum, which is said to have belonged to Queen Henrietta Maria; and this too is fitted with rings for attachment to a 'chatelaine' in the way already described. The British Museum has also acquired 'the preciously-bound diminutive godly book,' of which Dibdin gave a rapturous description under the title of Queen Elizabeth's Volume of Prayers. The cover is of gold, with fine repoussé work, showing on one side the Judgment of Solomon and on the other the Elevation of the Brazen Serpent; and in this case also there are rings showing how the volume was carried. 'I consider Elizabeth,' says Dibdin, 'as a royal bibliomaniac of transcendent fame; I see her in imagination wearing her little Volume of Prayers, the composition of Queen Catharine Parr and Lady Tirwit, bound in gold and hanging by a gold chain at her side.' Another printed volume, called 'Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book,' is of quite a different class, the borders with woodcuts from the Dance of Death and the general appearance of the page showing that it was copied from the *Livres d'Heures* which Verard and Vostre had successfully produced in Paris. The smaller book approaches rather to the design of certain illustrated books of devotion printed in Italy about the close of the fifteenth century, such as the Dialogues of Pope Gregory and the Rule of St. Benedict, printed in black-letter by Junta in 1505, and the Breviary of the Friars Preachers, printed in black and red at Venice in 1484. The copy of this Breviary in the British Museum contains a note by a former owner, on its rarity and its peculiar 'format': 'Inconnu à Brunet, Hain, et Panzer, c'est certainement le seul livre de ce format de ce temps.' We should notice in this

connection another book in the same collection, which more closely resembles the little Volume of Prayers. It was printed at Naples, on vellum, in June 1486; there are three illuminated miniatures, with ornamental borders, one of them with 'Capo di bove' ornaments resembling a design in the Poliphilo.

The British Museum possesses another illuminated 'Liber Precum,' measuring an inch and a half by one inch, and bound in gold filigree lined with velvet. Little seems to be known of its history, except what may be gathered from the fact that it contains autograph notes or memoranda by Cardinal Wolsey and Henry the Eighth. Some years ago the 'Missal' of Queen Claude, wife of Francis the First, was exhibited at South Kensington in the Loan Collection. It is said to have been the property of De Thou, though it does not appear in his printed catalogue; but it certainly belonged to Dr. Mead, who spent a fortune in editing the 'Historia,' and sent Carte on a long journey 'to rummage for works of Thuanus'; it was purchased by Horace Walpole at Dr. Mead's sale, and long remained at Strawberry Hill. It. is a fifteenth century MS., in size three inches by two; the cover is of black enamel set with rubies and other precious stones, with medallions of red sard, representing the Crucifixion and the Blessed Virgin between St. Catharine and St. Barbara. There are sixteen fine miniatures, all taken from the works of Raffaelle and Pietro Perugino.

Many of the best English examples must have perished in the tumults of the Reformation, especially after the indiscriminate massacre directed by Parliament against images and Popish books. The possession of an illuminated missal might lead at

the least to fine and imprisonment; and poor old John Stow had to stand a trial for using such books in his antiquarian studies. Enough remains for practical purposes; and the Harleian Collection alone contains a multitude of specimens, varying of course very widely in their degrees of excellence. Before turning to the examples among these MSS. we shall mention a little 'Horarium' of the fifteenth century, from a private library, not so much for the beauty of the decoration as for certain other points that seem to be of historical interest. We notice that it was written in England and that it was used like a family Bible for recording births and deaths as early as the time of Henry the Eighth. It is almost entirely confined to purposes of mourning, the 'Hours' being followed by memorials of Saints, the Penitential Psalms, a Litany, and the Vigils and Prayers for the Dead; the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury has been erased throughout in accordance with the provisions of the Statute. Our next example is a small MS., numbered 2342 in the Harleian Collection. It is described by William Oldys, who helped to arrange the Catalogue, as 'the Manual of Devotions of some English Protestant of quality, who was cast into prison wrongfully, according to his own opinion.' The book was carefully illuminated by some foreign artist, but has suffered in several places from rough usage. There is a tradition that it was prepared for the Lord Protector Somerset, and that the last few prayers were inserted during his last imprisonment. 'If this were so,' says Oldys, ''tis easy to apprehend how it might come into the possession of Lady Jane Grey'; that it did belong to her appears from two notes in her handwriting, addressed to her father-in-law and to the Lieutenant of the Tower.

The latter begins with an exhortation to good conduct: 'Forasmuche as you have desired so simple a woman to wrighte in so worthy a book, gode Mayster Lieuftenante, therefore I shall as a frende desyre you, and as a Christian require you,' etc., and ends, 'Youres, as the Lorde knoweth, as a frende, Jane Duddeley.' There is another memorandum in the writing of her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley; and Oldys adds, in his own person, 'None of these three notes or epistles are mentioned by any of our historians that I now remember.'

Several little 24mo MSS. are found in the same part of this Library, among them a devotional treatise containing a description of our 'five wits,' and several forms of grace for dinner and supper, and another in parchment describing the science of hawking, with the addition of 'a silly charm against the tooth-ache.' Not many small books were printed in this country before the reign of Elizabeth; but Herbert mentions 'a little book of devotions,' measuring no more than an inch by an inch and a half, which Julian Notary finished printing on April 2nd, 1500, and in 1540 Redman, following the French and Italians, produced a Bible in five parts, in 16mo; and the nation not long afterwards adopted the passion for little psalters and 'holy song-books,' which Clément Marot had aroused among French Protestants. Those 'slanderous books' by Simon Fish, a *Supplication of the Poor Commons* and the *Supplication of Beggars*, were brought to Henry the Eighth from the Continent. Readers of Foxe will remember how Edward Moddis, the footman, showed the King the tiny treatise against the monasteries, 'such a book as was marvel to hear of,' and how Henry locked it up with the words, 'If a man should pull down an old

stone wall and begin at the lower part, the upper part might chance to fall upon his head.' Fish had chosen such a shape for his booklets that they could be hidden in a moment or slipped into the smallest pocket, and their appearance was so neat that Berthelet, the King's Printer, imitated it in his miniature treatises upon pleading and the holding of Courts. The old collection of Statutes was compressed by his successor into a small duodecimo, but the barristers were soon driven out into a wilderness of folios in Law-French. The small and fine black-letter was used by Paganino in Venice, when he published Petrarch's essays in 1515; but it was soon acknowledged, in England as well as in Italy, to be nearly useless for practical purposes. It became evident that the microscopic book was impossible, unless the whole page could be engraved. A good example of such a process may be found in the Shorthand Psalter produced by Jeremiah Rich, about the time of the Commonwealth; we have the twentieth impression before us, and are disposed to agree with the author that he had invented 'a piece without parallel.' Among later French examples we may notice a most delicate series of *Heures Nouvelles*, engraved by Elisabeth Senault and her father for Louis Quatorze and 'Monseigneur Dauphin'; and we have also seen an engraved *Etrennes à l'Innocence*, not more than two centimètres in height, containing a Church calendar and a few useful rules of conduct.

Such microscopic wonders as the Milan *Dante* and *Petrarca*, printed in 128mo with the 'fly's-eye type,' could never have been produced without the modern improvements in stereotype. The little Gothic Nonpareil, used before the close of the fifteenth century, was replaced by the Brevier,

which had a blurred appearance that made even 'tall Elzeviers' look shabby. Jannot of Sedan made a protest against the Dutch taste by producing his New Testament in the Diamond, up to that time reserved for footnotes, besides a famous Virgil and half-a-dozen other tiny 'Twenty-fours.' Soon afterwards appeared the 'Pearl Bible' of 1653, with a crowd of dwarfish counterfeits, all taking their name, as D'Israeli points out, from the diminutive size of their type and certainly from no merit in their execution. About the year 1730, William Ged, a working goldsmith at Edinburgh, invented a form of stereotype: and his *Sallust* ten years afterwards was advertised as having been printed from welded type with the aid of a copper-plate. Many attempts were made to bring his methods into general use, but without much success, until Henri Didot invented the 'Polyamatype,' or mould casting many types at once. With this assistance Firmin-Didot was able to make a practical use of Ged's process, to which he gave its modern name. The Didot series of microscopic volumes were in Roman, 'on a body of half-nonpareil, twenty-five lines to the inch.' We take the description from the tiny volume of 'Brilliants,' lately published at the De Vinne Press in New York; and we may add that the new 'Brilliant type' is even more delicate than the 'fly's-eye Dante' of 1850. The Didot *Racine* appeared in 1799; and in 1827 and the following year we hear of Henri Didot working with his own hands at the punches for his 64mo *Horace* and *Maximes de La Rochefoucauld.* Some years previously Messrs Pickering began to issue their 'Diamond Classics,' each volume measuring three inches by an inch and three-quarters. The *Horace* on large paper makes the finest show; but

their New Testament, in Dibdin's opinion, eclipsed all preceding efforts of typography. 'The text of this extraordinary little book is closely copied from the first Elzevier edition of 1624'; and it is agreed that it leaves Blaeu's Testament and even the Sedan Edition 'at a considerable distance behind.' As 'microphiles' we could fill a volume with the story of the Fairy Annuals, the 'mites' and the 'midget folio,' the Bijou Almanacs, and a hundred other butterfly volumes. With the space at our command we can only add two books, each perfect of its kind; as they lie before us while we write, we can hardly draw any distinction between them, except as to their order in date. The one is the *Fables de La Fontaine*, printed in 1849 for Messrs Laurent and Debernay, of Paris: the form is in 128mo, with Diamond type, the page fifty-two mill. high by thirty mill. in breadth. The other is the *Imitatio*, published by Tross at Paris in a similar form, in the year 1858, the page being five mill. less than *La Fontaine* in height; it is printed in a still finer character, which in M. De Vinne's opinion is of the same face as the type invented by Didot, 'though not quite so small in body.'

C. AND M. ELTON.

MISSALE SECVNDVM
ORDINEM CARTVSIEN.

EX OFFICINA CARTVSIAE PA-
PIENSIS. MONACHORVM
CVRA. M. D. LXII.

TITLE-PAGE OF A CARTHUSIAN MISSAL. PAVIA, 1562

THE BOOKS OF THE CARTHUSIANS

THE art of printing received a hearty welcome at the hands of the great religious Orders of the Catholic Church. In the scriptorium of the Monastery had hitherto been produced all the weightier books of the day. The printing-press was now to revolutionise the work of the scribe, and the Orders hailed it as a great opportunity for multiplying their books. The earliest printers were drawn from various trades and professions. Schoeffer, Mentelin, and Baemler had been scribes or illuminators, Fust and Jenson goldsmiths, Francesco Tuppo was a jurist, Philippus de Lignamine a physician, Caxton a mercer, and the occupants and dependents of the monasteries also strove to excel in the new art. Günther Zainer, the first printer at Augsburg, who began work in 1468, was connected with the Chartreuse of Buxheim, and deposited many of his books in its library, and it is Carthusian archives that record his death in 1478. Melchior de Stanheim, Prior of the Monastery of SS. Ulric and Afra, not only was called on to arbitrate in disputes between the printers and card-designers of Augsburg, but bought presses and began to print with types in his own monastery in 1472-73. Helyas de Louffen, a canon of Beromunster, began to print in his abbey in 1469, and Sweynheym and Pannartz started their work in 1465 at the Benedictine house at Subiaco. The Brothers of the Common Life, like Zainer, began printing in 1468, and in their monastery at Marienthal, near Mainz, produced

some interesting books. The list of monastic printers might be greatly extended, but in these notes I have confined myself to the houses of a single great Order, the Carthusians, and have grouped together, at the request of its Father-General and by the aid of several of its learned priests, a few remarks that may serve to illustrate the printing carried on under its auspices. A peculiar honour, indeed, attaches to the Carthusians in respect to printing. Not only were they one of the earliest to welcome and use the new art, but they have remained printers to this day, and are now carrying on at Montreuil a great monastic printing-office from which some of the finest of modern books have been issued.

The history of how printing was undertaken at Montreuil takes us back a long way in the annals of the Order, and is typical of the needs which in every century since the invention have caused it to call printers to its aid. In 1606 Dom Michel de Hone, Prior of La Chartreuse de la Boutillerie in Picardy, printed four large *Responsoria*, each in four volumes, from type which he himself made by melting down old vessels and candlesticks of copper. Soon after they were finished he retired, at his own wish, from the office of Prior, and went to the Chartreuse of Pavia to aid in printing liturgical books for the Order, carrying with him his type. In 1612 he was commissioned by the Father-General to print service-books in sufficient numbers for all the Monasteries of the Order, and a photograph of a page of this 1612 service-book, printed from Dom Michel's home-made types, lies before me as I write. This edition of the offices continued in use throughout the Order for over two centuries and a half, and was not entirely reprinted until 1876,

when a new edition was produced at Montreuil. From time to time the question of a reprint had been mooted, and materials had been collected for it by Dom Aubanel of Avignon, but regulations for readjusting the services were expected from the Vatican, and the reprint did not come about. In 1875, however, it was decided by the Secretary-General that the old service-books, which, despite the most careful preservation, had become almost useless by age, must at last be replaced. The buildings of Notre Dame des Prés, the Chartreuse at Montreuil, begun in 1871 upon the ancient foundation of 1323, and incorporating the ruins of the venerable house destroyed at the Revolution, were by this time almost complete, and Dom Eusèbe Bergier, the Prior, on a visit to Germany, borrowed copies both of the Statutes and Service-books that had belonged to the monastery at Buxheim. These, however, were not sufficiently complete, and volumes were collected by Father Charles Marie from other monasteries, with all the fragments that could be found at La Grande Chartreuse, till at last perfect and complete copies of the Statutes and Service-books of 1612 were made up, and the magnificent volume of 1876 printed from them. When I inquired at Montreuil for the one complete copy of the volume of 1612, it could not be found, and I searched diligently for it. At length, thanks to the memory of an aged Father, it was found in an underground book-store, at the bottom of a great pile of folios. I carried it in triumph to the great Library, where it now occupies the position of honour which its age, history, and beauty of typography demand for it.

It is probable that in the early history of the Order very nearly the same system prevailed as at

present exists at Montreuil, where the greater part of the labour is done either by lay brothers or by printers employed by the Order, but the preparation of copy, correction of proofs, oversight, regulation and management, belong to certain of the choir-fathers especially appointed to the duty. In some cases the early books contain evidence that the plant with which they were printed was brought to the monastery by a travelling lay printer, specially called in to produce one or more books. In other cases we have equally clear evidence that the press and types belonged to the monastery, and that any lay printer whose name is mentioned was either called in to train the inmates of the house, or regularly employed under their oversight. The cases in which the Fathers themselves were the printers are probably very few, but we seldom fail to find in colophon or preface proof of the constant supervision which they exercised over the production of their books, and of their carefulness to obtain the most minute accuracy. In these notes I am able to chronicle the names of twenty-eight monasteries at which it has been asserted that printing has been carried on. With regard to some of these the belief rests at present on insufficient evidence; with regard to others there is absolute proof as to the fact of printing, though it is not always easy to determine the exact circumstances under which it was carried on. Of the twenty-eight monasteries six are in France, five in Italy and five in Spain, three in Germany and three in Belgium, two in Savoy and two in Switzerland, and one in Bohemia and one in Sweden. In the order of their antiquity their names are as follows:

La Grande Chartreuse, 1084.
Scala Dei, 1163.

Aillon, 1179.
Parma, 1285.

Currière, 1297.
Mainz, 1320.
Montreuil, 1324.
Cologne, 1334.
Strasbourg, 1335.
Fribourg, 1346.
Villeneuve, 1356.
Tournay, 1377.
Pavia, 1396.
Majorca, 1399.
Las Cuévas, 1400.
Basle, 1401.
Mont-Alegra, 1412.
Venice, 1422.
Miraflorès, 1441.
Ferrara, 1454.
Auray, 1480.
Louvain, 1491.
Grypsholm, 1491.
Walditz, 1620.
Turin, 1642.
Favraz.
La Correrie.
Namur.

As to one or two of these places, the assertion that printing was carried on in Carthusian houses in them rests on very doubtful evidence. In the case of Namur it is impossible, as no Chartreuse ever existed in its neighbourhood, and we can only conjecture that there has been a confusion with some other Belgian town which possessed one.[1] As regards Louvain it has been suggested that the works of Dom Johannes Gerulphus, Vicar of the Chartreuse there in 1579, were printed in the monastery. They are not mentioned, however, in Petreius' Appendix to the *Bibliotheca Carthusiana* (1610), although Gerulphus was his contemporary, dying in 1605. The existence of a Carthusian press at Louvain is, therefore, purely conjectural. As to the Savoyard house at Aillon in the diocese of Chambéry, we know from an inventory taken in 1793 that the monks possessed a printing-press, but there is no evidence as to what they printed.

As regards Venice, Basle, and Fribourg there is some difficulty in proving that printing was ever carried on within the precincts of the Carthusian houses at these places. The colophon, 'Venetiis

[1] It may be noted here that the Plantin Press printed several Carthusian books, being employed and probably subsidised by the Houses near Antwerp. It is unlikely, therefore, that either the Chartreuse de la Lyre, or the Chartreuse de Ste. Catherine at Liers, both near Antwerp, should, as some bibliographers have suggested, have possessed presses of their own.

impressæ cura et impensis monachorum Carthusiæ Venetiarum,' to a Carthusian *Horæ* of 1571 proves that books were printed in Venice at the cost and under the supervision of the Monastery, but the very fact that the city so abounded with printers makes it less likely that the monks should have been at the trouble of providing a press of their own. Certainly the first edition of the Carthusian Breviary, which appeared in 1491, was not printed by or for the Venetian house, for its colophon, which is quoted by Alès in his *Bibliothèque Liturgique* (p. 479), tells us that it was edited 'ab exemplare correctissimo ac emendatissimo studio quorundam doctissimorum reverendissimorumque patrum in monasterio sanctorum patrum Hieronymi et Bernardi prope Paduam degentium,' and that it was 'transcriptum atque stampatum impensis et arte Andree Thoresani de Asula,' the father-in-law of Aldus and himself at that time the great liturgical printer of his day.

As to Fribourg we know that Jean Schott came from Strasbourg and printed there in 1503 the *Margarita Philosophica* of Gregorius Reisch, the Prior of the Carthusian Monastery. The expression Schott uses in the colophon, 'chalcographatum primitiali hac pressura,' probably refers to this being the first impression of the book rather than, as has been thought, to its being the first-fruits of a particular press, which might have been set up in the monastery for the purpose. But the probability that Reisch would have had the book printed as nearly as possible under his own eye is not to be neglected, though it does not justify us in assuming that it was actually set up in the monastery.

The difficulty in the case of Basle is of much the same kind. We know from the records of the Order that the volume of its Statutes in six parts

with nine illustrations, printed by Joannes Amorbach in 1510, was supervised and corrected by the Fathers, but there is no evidence that it was printed in their House, and we have the same lack of proof as regards the Basle editions of the Carthusian Missal and *Diurnale* and of the *Vita Brunonis* of 1514.

Putting on one side, therefore, mere legend and doubtful evidence, our list of Carthusian printing-houses may be rearranged as follows, the dates added being merely those of the earliest book issued under the auspices of the House which the present writer has been able to find, and by no means excluding the possibility of printing having been in use at a much earlier date than that here given:

Parma, 1477.
Grypsholm, 1498.
Ferrara, 1503.
Cologne, 1513.
Strasbourg, 1518.
La Grande Chartreuse, 1526.
Pavia, 1560.
Scala Dei, 1586.
Tournay, 1606.
Auray, 1610.
Miraflorès, 1612.
Majorca, 1616.
Las Cuévas, 1629.
Favraz, 1679.
La Correrie, 1680.
Villeneuve, 1709.
Mainz, 1729.
Walditz, 1748.
Turin, 1757.
Mont-Alegra, 1776.
Montreuil, 1875.
Currière.

The Carthusian press at Parma is remarkable not only for its early date, but for the distinct assertion that the printing was the work of the monks themselves. The book printed was the *Historia Flendæ Crucis et Funeris domini nostri Jesu Christi*, addressed by the Marquis Baptista Pallavicino, Bishop of Reggio, to Pope Eugenius IV. As given by Hain [12280] the colophon runs, presumably in spurious hexameters:

Imprescere [*sic*] fratres opus hoc cartusie parme:
Quibus Augustinus genue tunc prefuit ortus.
M.CCCC.LXXVII. Decembris.

At the time his book was thus brought out,

Pallavicino, who was a native of Parma, had been dead just eleven years.

The evidence that printing was carried on at the Chartreuse of Grypsholm in Sweden is not derived from a colophon, but from a manuscript note which has been written both in the fine copy of the work of Alanus de Rupe, *De immensa et ineffabili dignitate et vtilitate Psalterii Virginis Mariæ*, 1498, at the British Museum (3832. *bb.*), and also in the *Bibliothèque Nationale.* The note is very interesting and runs as follows:

> Hunc libellum fecit imprimi in Suecia apud Carthusienses generosa domina Ingeburgis quondam gubernatrix regni Suecie, committens predictis Carthusiensibus ad distribuendum istum et quosdam alios gratis ad loca religiosorum et ubi fructus inde fieri potuerit, petensque humiliter orare pro se et pro suo marito domino Stenone quondam strenuissimo gubernatore regni Suecie, etc.

According to the Departmental Guide to the books exhibited in the King's Library at the British Museum the first book known to have been printed for gratuitous distribution is the edition of the *Informatio de genealogia beatissime virginis Barbare*, printed at Mainz in 1503 for 'Raymundus Cardinalis Gurcen,' *i.e.* Raymond Perault, who commissioned the edition for presentation to persons and churches to which he gave relics. This manuscript note shows that printing for gratuitous distribution may be dated at least five years earlier. Hain cites the volume under 14035 indicating 'Holmiæ' as the place of printing.

Of the beautiful Missal printed at the Chartreuse at Ferrara in 1503, the British Museum has recently acquired a fine copy, once the property of the Monastery of Buxheim (C. 52. h. 11). It is printed in Gothic characters, in red and black, in two

columns, thirty-four lines, and has an interesting woodcut of St. Christopher on the title-page, and at the Canon a very fine crucifixion. In the Museum copy, unluckily, both these and all the initials have been somewhat rudely coloured, probably in Germany. The Museum copy has also been added to in manuscript in many places, extra post-communions and offices for the Feasts of St. Bruno and the Transfigurations being either written in or added on separate leaves. The colophon reads:

> Explicit Missale ſm ordinem Carthusiēsiuȝ Impressum in Monasterio Carthusie Ferrarie Diligenter emendatum per Monachos eiusdem Domus. Regnante Excellētissimo D.D. Duce Hercule Esteñ. Anno a nativitate Domini M.ccccciij°. Die x. Aprilis.

It has already been noted that the dates attached to our second list of Carthusian Houses are those of the earliest books which the present writer has been able to discover and do not imply a positive condemnation of traditions of earlier work of which proof is not at present forthcoming. Such a tradition exists among the Fathers as to Cologne, which they believe to have been their oldest printing-house, one of the most learned among them conjecturing that they began work there as early as 1465. This is, however, only conjecture. In 1513 we are on firmer ground, the colophon of the *Directorium aureum contemplativorum* of Henricus de Herph, printed in that year, reading 'impressum in domo S^e^ Barbare ordinis Carthusiensis,' while four years later we have record of a *Sermo de Sancto Brunone* as printed 'apud Fratres Carthusiæ domus.' Earlier, however, in all probability than either of these, we have a group of undated books, an *Ordo infirmum inungendi communicandi mortuumque sepeliendi juxta morem Carthusiensis*

ordinis, a very rare work, not cited by Hain or Panzer, but perhaps printed as early as 1500, and a *Vita Brunonis* and *Martyrilogium Usuardi* of slightly later date. For further information as to Carthusian printing at Cologne reference should be made to Petreius (*Bibl. Cartus.*, p. 40), Moretius (*Theatrum Chronol. S. O. Cartus.*, pp. 30, 73, 261), and the *Histoire littéraire de la France* (tom. xxiv. p. 67).

At Strasbourg, again, we have a choice between an early traditional date and a later one of which we may be sure. The colophon of the 1474 edition of the *Meditationes Vitæ Christi* of Ludolphus runs as follows:

> Et sic est finis huius operis vita cristi nuncupati et a quodā Religioso fratre Ludolpho ordinis Carthusien*sis*, Montis Beate virginis extra ciuitatē Argeñ. monacho magnoque et precellenti theologo cōpilati, cui deus in premium presentis laboris et omniū per eum benefactorū et malorum sustento2 requiē et sempiternū gaudiū misericorditer impendere dignetur. Impressū Anno dñi 1.4.7.4.

The particularity of this colophon[1] has suggested that the book may have been printed in the monastery which could boast that Ludolphus had been among its members, but the types appear to be those of Eggesteyn, and in the absence of evidence it is not safe to conjecture that he had any special connection with the Order. On the other hand, in the *Antiphone ad horas diei* of 1518, we find the distinct statement: 'in finem perductum in domo montis B. Mariæ Virg. prope Argent.,' and there is similar direct evidence for the *Psalterium Carthusiense* of 1519 and the *Cursus Beate Marie Virginis secundum morem*

[1] The usual description of Ludolphus in editions of his book is 'patrem deuotum Argentine in Carthusia professum.'

Carth. of 1532 (see Rosenthal, *Bibl. Cartus.* pp. 18 and 70).

Coming now to *La Grande Chartreuse*, the mother-house of the Order, we are confronted with the splendid folio Missal of 1517 (B.M. C. 35, i. 6), the colophon of which reads:

> Explicit Missale secũdũ ordinẽ carthusiensiũ Lugduñ. Per magistrũ Symonẽ beuelaqua Nouiter impressum . virũ honestũ . Libroꝙ impressorẽ in Carthusia maiori . ab originalibus ꝯ antiquioribus libris. Per venerabilẽ patrẽ dõnũ Iohannem Binchois religiosuꝫ monachũ dicte domus professum ac capl'i gñalis dicti ordinis scribã . correctũ ꝯ emẽdatũ Anno salutis Millesimo quingentesimo . xvii . Die vero nona mensis . Mav.

Here the use both of stops and majuscules is very uncertain and misleading, so that we might think at first, were such a phrase possible, that the Missal was arranged according to the use of the Carthusians at Lyons, and printed by Bevelaqua at La Grande Chartreuse. It is obvious, however, on a moment's consideration, that, punctuation notwithstanding, the real meaning is that it was printed at Lyons by Bevelaqua and corrected and emended at La Grande Chartreuse from original books of some antiquity by the venerable father Joannes Binchois, the scribe of the Chapter-General. We cannot therefore claim the fine book as the work of the monastic press, but in 1526, nine years after the Missal, we have a *Collatio Carthusiæ declamata* distinctly stated to have been 'edita Carthusiæ,' and towards the close of the century a *Hymni per totius anni circulum*, a *Supplementum Antiphonarii*, and a *Diurnale*, all printed in 1588.

We come now to Pavia, one of the most interesting and artistic of the Carthusian presses. A Breviary was printed here in 1560, and this was followed the next year by a Missal and a Horæ,

and in 1562 by a reprint of the Missal and an edition of the *Sermones et Homiliæ* for Saints-days. A fine copy of the 1562 Missal is in the British Museum (C. 46, c. 2). It is beautifully printed in red and black, with a skill which elsewhere in Italy was already on the wane, and its three illustrations are also conspicuously better than those of the period. Two of them are here reproduced, the third represents S. Bruno seeking a site for his monastery. The colophon reads 'Ex officina Cartusie Papieñ. Monachorum cura Die vigesimo mensis Junii MDLXII.,' and the verso of the beautiful title-page contains the letters patent granted by the Father-General of the Order, 28 Augusti 1560. Of the earlier Missal of 28 September 1561, whose colophon reads: 'In Cartusia Papiæ Monachorum cura,' etc., a copy is in the Library at Montreuil. The letters patent refer to the work of Thielmann Kerver, by whose firm several service-books were printed for the Order at Paris.

The last of our sixteenth-century presses is that at the great house of Scala Dei in Spain, where in 1586 was printed a quarto Commentary on Jeremiah by its Prior, a copy of which is preserved in the Cartuja of Miraflorès near Burgos. Its title reads as follows:

> Commentaria in Jeremiam Prophetam quibus latina vulgata editio dilucidatur et cum Hebraico ? et Septuag. Editione et paraphrasi Chaldaica confertur. Auctore J. Andrea Capella Valentino Cartusiano Theologiæ Doctore, Cartusiæ Scala Dei Priore. *Excudebat Hubertus Gotardus in Cartusia Scala Dei* Anno 1586.

Coming to the seventeenth century we find a record of an Antiphoner having been printed at the Chartreuse at Tournay in 1606 (see *Mémoires sur la vie de M. Jean Levasseur*, p. 105), and at Auray

in Vannes four years later we have an *Officium Cantoris Hebdomadarii ad usum majoris Cartusiæ* with the imprint 'Carthusiæ Campi S. Michaelis

FROM THE CARTHUSIAN MISSAL. PAVIA, 1562

d'Auray 1610.' The bulk of this latter book is in fine manuscript, but certain of its latter pages are printed, and it has been suggested with great

probability that they are evidence of an attempt to establish a press at this monastery, perhaps only a small portable press, as the pages are quite small and were probably worked separately.

Our next three monasteries are all Spanish. We have first at Miraflorès, in 1612, an *Instruccion de Sacerdotes del V. P. D. Antonio de Molina* with the imprint 'impreso en la Cartuja Real de Miraflorès en Burgos y a su costa, 1612,' and printed in the same type three years later, but without mention of the monastery, another work by the same author, entitled *Exercicios espirituales de oracion*. Both books were very popular and were frequently reprinted by lay printers down to the present century, especially in Seville, Barcelona, Madrid, and Burgos; and it may be interesting to mention that the paper used in the sixteenth century at the other Carthusian houses was chiefly manufactured in Spain at the Cartujas of Val Christi and Paular. At the Cartuja at Majorca at least three books were printed, viz. two editions, in 1616 and 1624, of the *Differentiæ inter utrumque Forum* of the Prior Joannes Valerus, and in 1617 a *Vida de Catharina Thonasa* by Dom Barth. Valperga. Lastly, Spanish scholars tell me that a Psalter printed in 1629 and a Gradual in two folio volumes of the next year may be attributed with high probability to the Cartuja of Las Cuévas near Seville. The Seville printer Perez, to whom the books are sometimes assigned, may have printed the frontispiece at his own works, but an examination of the type of the text, the notes of the music, and the ornamental letters reveals the interesting fact that they are identical, save for being a little more worn, with those employed at the monastery at Pavia from 1611 onwards, and if the fount is a Carthusian one

the probability that the books were printed in the monastery itself is enormously increased.

There is now an interval of half a century during which I can find no evidence of any fresh press having been started, but at the end of a book printed in 1680 there have been found portions of a Missal printed at Favraz in Savoy, a dependence of the Grande Chartreuse and under its jurisdiction, in 1679, and printing must therefore have been started there before that date. At La Correrie, another house near to the Grande Chartreuse, but not to be confused with it, printing was already in progress by the next year, 1680, and this, as regards its output, was the largest printing-house of the Order, at least fifty-five books having been issued by it during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As typical of its work I may mention a *Nova Collectio Statutorum Ordinis Cartusiensis*, 1680 and 1681 (a fourth edition in 1736), *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, 1687, *Introductio ad vitam interiorem*, 1693 and 1695, *Pratique de la Bénédiction et Consécration des Vierges*, 1699, a Psalter in 1701, a Breviary in 1715 and 1717 (B.M. 3405, f. 10), a *Diurnale* in 1730, etc. We have also evidence of an *Officium Cantoris hebdomadarii* having been printed at the Chartreuse at Villeneuve in Avignon in 1709.

At Mainz, the mother-town of the press, the earliest books with a Carthusian imprint which I have met with are the *Hymni Solemnitatum in Processionibus* of 1729 and a Breviary, in three volumes duodecimo, of 1733. It is probable that earlier books exist, and a brief reference may be permitted to the old story (for which see *La Typographie Tucker*, 30 Nov. 1879, p. 733) that the Carthusians took great interest in Gutenberg,

and that he presented to the house at Mainz a copy of his Bible and of a *Tractatus de Celebratione Missarum.* It is also stated in the *Ephemerides Cartus.* of D. Steph. de Bussieris (vol. iv. p. 611) that previously to the introduction of printing from movable types stencil alphabets of latten were in use at Mainz. Helbig, Fisher, Auguste, and Petreius may be consulted as to these legends.

In 1748 there was printed at the Chartreuse at Walditz, a great and important Bohemian house in the diocese of Prague, a *Manifestatio Spiritus Ordinis Cartus.*; at Turin in 1757 an *Elenchus Privilegiorum a Summis Pontificibus Sacro Ordini Cartus. concessorum*, and at Mont-Alegra, near Barcelona, the records speak of a printer-monk, to whom two books, a *Supplementum Missalis* and a *Supplementum Breviarii*, 'ad usum Domus Montis Hilarii,' may be attributed. Both, unfortunately, survive only in an incomplete form. They were probably printed about 1775. A copy of the former book is at the Chartreuse of Mougères, but the fine library of Mont-Alegra itself was scattered in 1835 and the books passed into other collections, while many disappeared altogether.

This is the last note I possess of a printing-house at any Chartreuse until just a century later, as I have already noted, the work of printing was seriously begun at Montreuil on June 1, 1875. There it has steadily progressed ever since its inception. Binding shops have been added, a type foundry and store-houses built, and the printing-house equipped with the latest machinery and plant. Up to 1881 the books printed at Montreuil were chiefly those needed for the use of the Order, and these were not sold, either publicly or privately. The series began in 1875 with a *Psalterium noc-*

turnum; in 1876 came the *Hymni*, the *Officium Defunctorum*, and an *Antiphonarium nocturnum* in two volumes; in 1878 a *Graduale* and an *Antiphonarium diurnum*; in 1880 a *Liber Collectarum et Epistolarum*, and the beginning of an edition in four volumes of the *Homiliæ et Sermones*. This was completed the next year, when too was issued an edition of the Vulgate, also in four volumes. All of these books were in folio, and mostly printed in red and black. There have also been printed in quarto the *Lectiones Officii Defunctorum*, the *Officium Cantoris hebdomadarii*, and the *Manuale ad usum Priorum*; in octavo a Breviary, *Epistolarium*, etc.; in twelves a *Manuale* and *Directorium Novitiorum*, and in sixteens a *Diurnale* and Psalter. Of these service-books the volume containing the night offices is the largest, each page measuring, when trimmed, twenty-four inches by sixteen; the smallest is the *Diurnale*, a volume of 640 pages in old face Bourgeois issued in 1879. Bound in brown morocco, with red edges, this dainty little volume is carried by every monk and is in hourly use from the moment he takes the habit to the day of his death. It is printed on *papier Rives*, which, like all the paper used at Montreuil, is watermarked with the badge of the Order, a crowned orb and seven stars and the motto, *Stat Crux dum volvitur orbis*. Since 1881 the monastery has issued to the public many of the works of the great theologians of the Order, notably those of Dionysius Carthusiensis. It has also printed with the same care and beauty several works relating to the Order and its history, notably, in 1888, a History of the English Martyrs by Father Chauncy, a large quarto printed in old face Great Primer on *papier marais*. The monastery also prints books for La Propagande

Catholique in a more ordinary fashion, but in its liturgical and theological works it is content with nothing short of absolute perfection of form.

At Currière, the last house on my list,[1] there is only a very small printing-office. It is in connection with the house for deaf and dumb boys carried on by Carthusians at the very ancient subsidiary house close to the Grande Chartreuse. The press here is only in occasional use, printing notices, labels, pamphlets, and very small books.

I have now briefly reviewed this interesting subject and it only remains for me to acknowledge the invaluable help I have received from others, which alone has rendered it possible for me to compile these notes.

To the Father-General I am at the outset indebted for the kindly confidence which led him, when the Editor of *Bibliographica* expressed a desire for this article, to place the preparation of it in my hands. Ready help from the monks of the Order has not been wanting.

A learned Father, Dom Stanislas, residing at the Chartreuse of Sélignac, has been for many years engaged in preparing an exhaustive bibliography of Carthusian works, but his self-imposed labour is not nearly completed and may remain in manuscript for very many years after completion.

The Prior of the Chartreuse of Glandier, Father Cyprian, has written extensively upon his Order, and the same may be said of the Novice Master at Montreuil, Father Laurence, who is well known to Englishmen by his excellent book on the London

[1] As an appendix to my subject I may note that the Order has always had a few houses for women, and still possesses three such convents (Notre Dame du Gard near Amiens, La Bastide St. Pierre near Montauban, and Beau Regard near the Grande Chartreuse). For these convents there have been printed a few special books; *e.g.* a Book of Hours in French was specially printed at Grenoble for the Nuns in 1699 (B.M. 3365, b. 3).

Charterhouse. From the stores of their knowledge these three monks have bountifully helped me and rendered my researches comparatively easy. The Procurator at Mougères, Father Jacques, who is in charge of the Spanish Cartuja de Mont-Alegra and the Prior of the Cartuja de Miraflorès, and some learned monks at Valladolid, Burgos, and Seville have helped me as to the Spanish books. An anonymous MS. preserved at Montreuil, a work on Henry VIII. by the learned Prior of Parkminster Father Victor, and Abbé Febevre's histories of the Order and of its great houses have been laid under heavy contribution, and unique advantages at several of the monasteries of working in their great Libraries have resulted in the collection of these somewhat scattered notes. One thing I have greatly regretted; and that is that, amongst the numerous advantages offered me, one has been excluded the use of the great Library at the Certosa at Pavia. Nothing can well be more painful than a visit to that important and most beautiful Certosa since the religious were driven out, the Library closed to students, the altars desecrated, and the entire building sustained and exhibited as a national monument by irreverent and irreligious guides. I am confident, from what I could see, that a student at the Library of the Certosa could easily settle many attributions which I have been obliged to leave an open conjecture. The Library is believed to contain the early books printed by Hone of Pavia at La Boutillerie, which were certainly given to the Library by Dom Leroy.

GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON.

SOME PICTORIAL AND HERALDIC INITIALS

PICTORIAL initials were not greatly in favour during the golden age of printing, and there is much to be said against them on the score of appropriateness and good taste. If capital letters were all either round or oval one great difficulty would be removed from the artist's path, for a decorative circle or oval, even if a tail or handle has to be added to it, makes no bad frame for a little picture. It is therefore not surprising to find that the German designers, who were the first to attack the problem, adopted a rounded form of the letter T, shortened the shaft of a P to a minimum, and magnified the lower curve of a B or S, while reducing the upper one as much as possible. These accommodations do not make for clearness, and certain letters, such as A, E, H, and M often remained stubbornly outside any such compromises.

This difficulty as to form had been experienced and, as far as was possible, overcome, by the old illuminators, but the printers had a trouble of their own which may have made them think that movable types also were vanity. An illuminator who had to paint the same initial twelve times probably found a pleasure in varying his miniatures, but with the pictures which had not only to be drawn, but to be cut on wood or soft metal, a printer was naturally less inclined to be profuse. We know, of course, from their general practice that the early

printers had generous ideas as to the adaptability of any one picture of a town or a battle to the representation of any other town or battle which might be mentioned in the text; but there were only a few subjects capable of this endless repetition, and when Leonard Holl prefixed to his edition of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* (Ulm, 1482) the magnificent, if not very easily recognisable, N, which shows the editor, Nicolaus Germanus, presenting his book to Pope Paul II. (fig. 1), he must have known

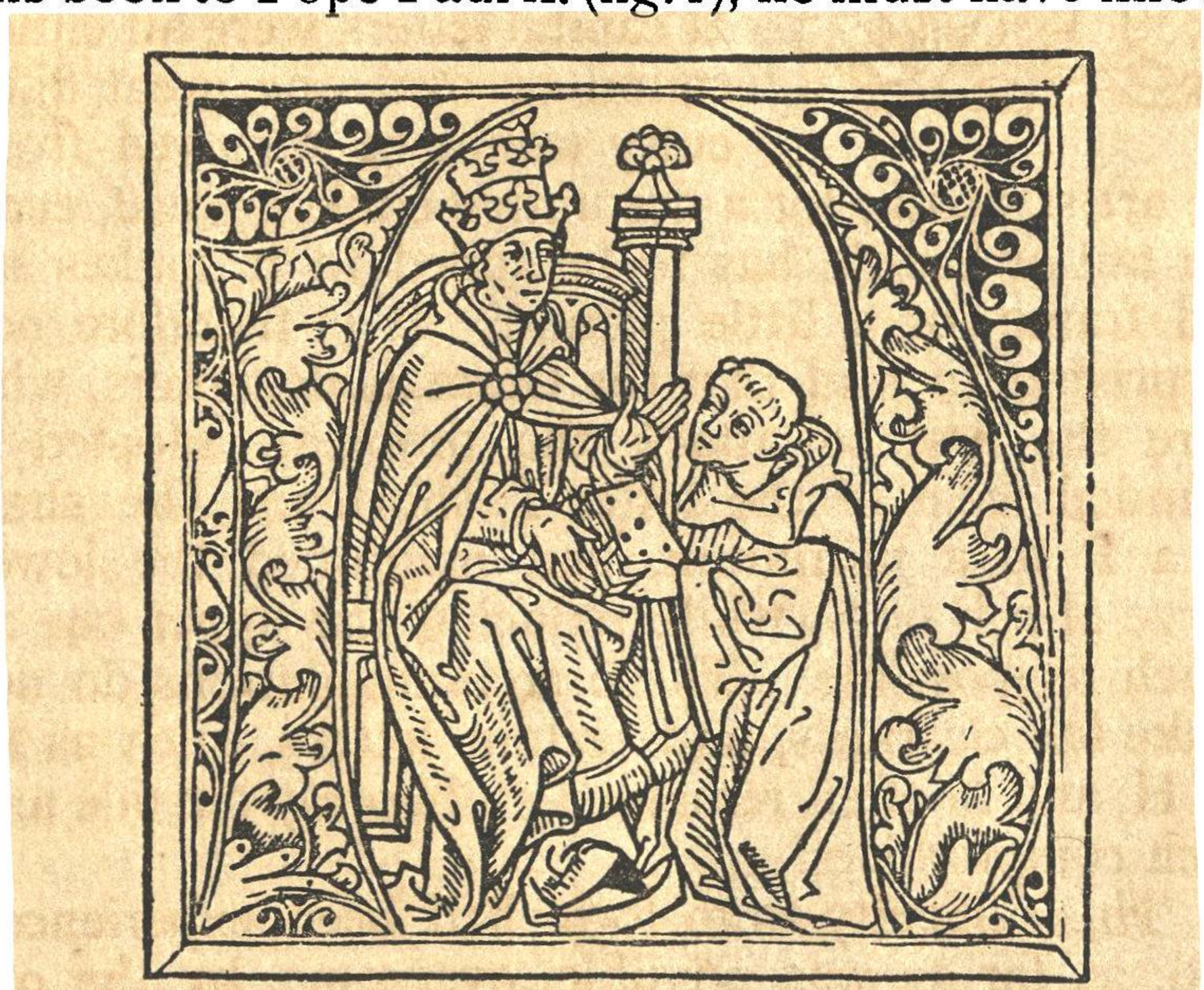


FIG. 1.—FROM PTOLEMY'S *COSMOGRAPHIA*, PRINTED BY LEONHARD HOLL. ULM, 1482

that he would have to wait a long time before he could use it again.

Lucas Brandes of Lubeck, in his splendid editions of *Josephus* and the *Rudimentum Noviciorum*, used a fine set of initials, into which various pictures could be inserted at pleasure. Either from economy, however, or from the poverty of invention

of his designer, he had recourse to no more than some half dozen subjects. In the *Josephus* a battle-scene, a cleric at his desk, and a scribe, whom I take to be a layman, and whose adjustable reading-desk reminds us of the latest inventions for the comfort of invalids, recur again and again. The scribe appears, comfortably enough, in the fine P here shown (fig. 2), and in a C, but we find him also

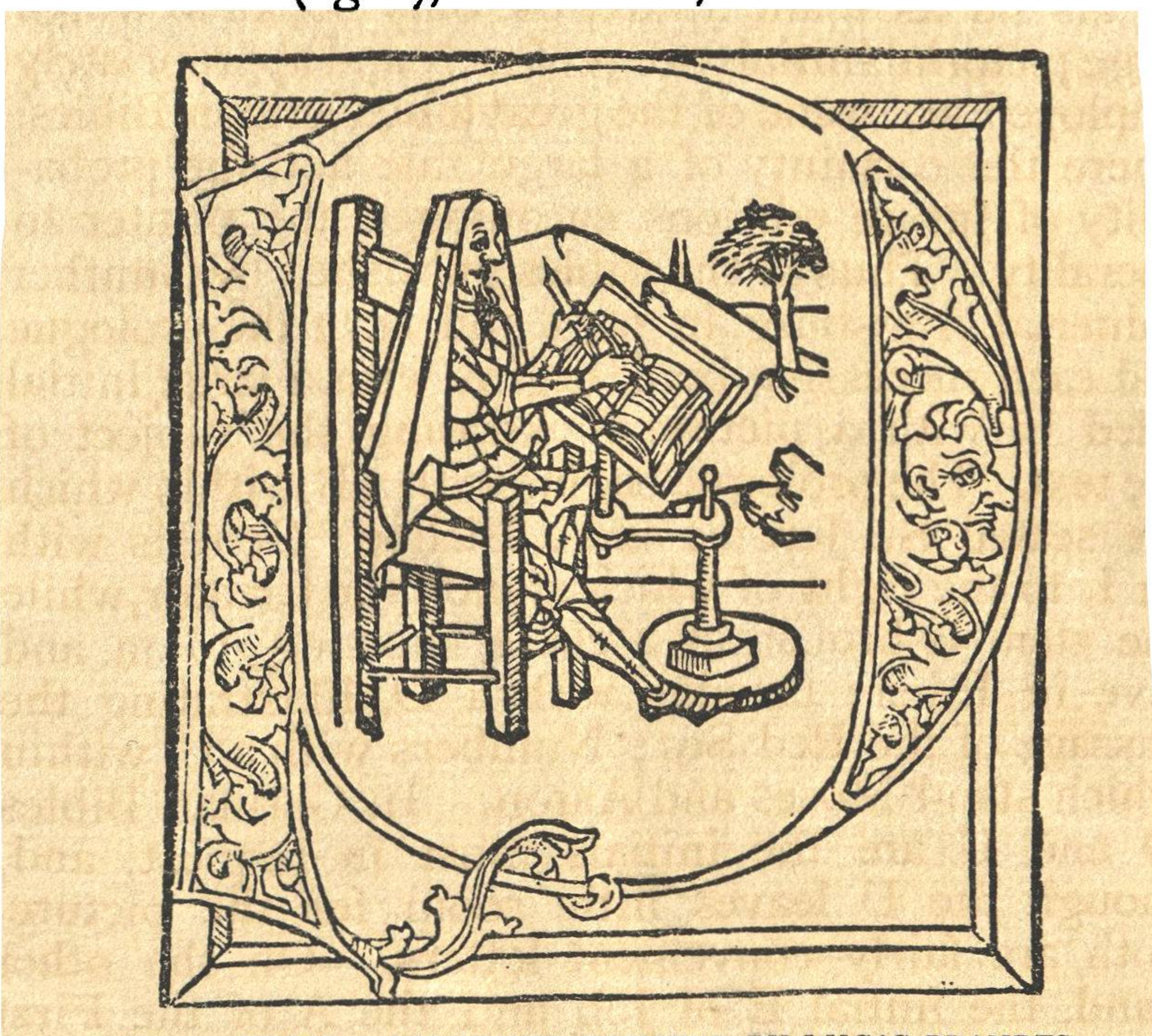


FIG. 2.—FROM A *JOSEPHUS*, PRINTED BY LUCAS BRANDES AT LUBECK

huddled below the bar of an H, and perched upon that of an A. In the same way the clerk, who is prettily framed in a *Q*, is shown to much less advantage in an M, of which the middle stem has been broken off to make room for him. One or two of the letters have no picture to fill them in, the

blocks being apparently all engaged in other parts of the book. In the *Rudimentum Noviciorum* we find a David playing his harp within a D, and the same picture, with the loss of the ceiling and part of the floor, is repeated in a B. The cleric and the battle-scene appear again from the *Josephus*, and there is also a C with a rather pretty picture of the Virgin adoring the Holy Child.

As far as I am aware, the only books in which large pictorial initials are profusely and appropriately employed are some of the great folio German Bibles, where the certainty of a large sale and the probability of future editions encouraged the printer to liberality. Thus in the Bibles published by Günther Zainer at Augsburg in 1473 and 1477 the prologue and each successive book begins with a large initial filled in with a picture illustrating the subject of the text. The prologue begins with a B, within which are seated St. Jerome and a Bishop; Genesis with an I, to the right of which stands the Creator, while the stem is broken by a circle showing Adam and Eve in Eden; Exodus with a D, illustrating the passage of the Red Sea; Numbers with a U, within which stand Moses and Aaron. In German Bibles D and U are the initials most in request, and, though the U leaves little room for the picture, both are fairly convenient letters. On the other hand, the initial E of Job and the A of the First Book of Chronicles are awkwardly divided by their cross-bars, so that each has to contain two insignificant little pictures instead of a single important one. In all German Bibles I have seen these pictorial initials are more or less thickly coloured, so that it is impossible to reproduce them successfully.

Outside Germany, as we have said, pictorial

initials did not flourish much in the early days of printing, for the finest printers, as a rule, abjured initials altogether, and the few who used them rightly preferred purely decorative designs. In France, in some editions of the *Mer des Histoires* and similar books, we find two or three of very

FIG. 3.—FROM AN *OROSIUS*, PRINTED FOR VERARD, 1509

large size, a huge I, with a figure of Christ within it, and the P here reproduced (fig. 3), with the usual picture of an author at his work. Vérard, however, and the few other fifteenth-century printers who employed initials, preferred grotesques to pictures,

FIG. 4.—FROM A *MER DES HISTOIRES*, PRINTED BY P. LE ROUGE AT PARIS, 1488

which only occasionally, as in the magnificent L from the *Mer des Histoires* of Pierre Le Rouge (fig. 4), have any high pictorial value. In another L, used both at Paris and at Lyons, we have intertwined the faces of an old man and a young couple flirting. It was no doubt specially designed for the 1492 edition of the *Matheolus*, or 'quinze joies du mariage,' in which it seems to have made its first appearance. The monkey-and-bagpipes L of the *Recueil des histoires troyennes*, and the St. George-and-the-Dragon L of a Lyons reprint of the *Mer des Histoires* may also be reckoned as pictorial, but the more ordinary varieties are purely grotesque combinations of distorted faces. These had hardly gone out of fashion before the Renaissance influence was paramount, and though I have found a few small pictorial initials in sixteenth-century French books, notably a very pretty set in a Utrecht Missal, printed by Wolfgang Hopyl at Paris in 1505,[1] they are certainly exceptional.

In Spain the dignity and severity which marks the work of the early printers were opposed to any save purely decorative initials, which, probably through the influence of the German printers in the Peninsula, came into use at an early date, and were often strikingly good. The one pictorial set I have found occurs in the *Copilacion de Leyes*, promulgated in 1485, and printed by Centenera at Zamora, probably in the same year. Each of these initials, nine in number, is appropriate to the section of the book which it heads, two knights in combat in an S

[1] Hopyl's initials are an inch and a half square on a dotted background. They were evidently designed specially for this Missal, the pictures being appropriate to the services to which the initials belong. They do not make up a complete alphabet, but of several letters there are two or three variants, *e.g.* for R there are pictures of Death, of the Annunciation, and of the Resurrection; for S, of SS. Cosmo and Damian, of S. Martin and the Beggar, and of the Blessed Virgin.

heralding the laws of chivalry, a Canonist and his scholars in an A those of matrimony, money-changers in a D those of commerce, and so on. The initials are cut not in wood, but on soft metal, which unluckily did not yield at all a good impression, a fault by which the best Spanish decorative work is often marred.

In Italy pictorial initials do not make their appearance until quite late. Except at Venice, indeed, printed initials of any kind were in no high esteem, at Florence not coming into use until 1489. At Venice Ratdolt's decorative alphabets found several imitators before this date, and soon after 1490 we find alphabets of children on a black ground coming into favour. In a *Donatus*, printed, according to Signor Ongania, in 1493, by Guilelmus Tridentis, we find an open-work P, within which a boy is bringing a book to his master, and, under the date 1494, we are shown a picture of Jacobus de Voragine at work under the shadow of the same letter. Towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the early years of the sixteenth the missals of Georgius Arrivabene and Lucantonio Giunta are crowded with pictorial initials of very varying value. That here shown (fig. 5), from the *Missale Ordinis Vallisumbrosæ*, printed by Giunta in 1503, is a good example of the heavier sort. The letter thus tricked out is a G, the initial of the *Gaudeamus* with which the introit begins on the festival of the first Abbot of Vallisumbrosa, Johannes Gualbertus. Numerous other examples will be found figured in Ongania's *Arte della Stampa*, though the careful student will soon discover that the initial letters with which its pages are crowded are usually fitted into any spaces which chance to be vacant, and often have no connection of any kind with the larger reproductions

which they adjoin. Thus their source can seldom be traced with certainty.

With the exception of some portrait-initials at Pavia, of which Dr. Kristeller has already written in

FIG. 5.—FROM THE *VALLISUMBROSA MISSAL*, PRINTED BY GIUNTA AT VENICE, 1503

Bibliographica, vol. i. p. 356 *sq.*, and a few English ones of which we shall speak later, the initials in these Venetian Service-books are the last of any importance in which the artist has endeavoured to combine

picture and letter into an harmonious design. The artists of the Renaissance, unlike their craftsman predecessors, had no feeling for book-work as such, and it must be confessed that the printers repaid them by printing their delicate work with a carelessness which in most cases completely obscures it. Henceforth the predominant type of pictorial initial is one in which a plain Roman capital is imposed upon a picture to which it has no artistic relation, and which it often cruelly mutilates. Moreover, while the reasonable preference for small books over bulky folios carried with it a great reduction in the size of initials, the refusal of the artists to simplify their designs, so as to accommodate them to these narrower limits resulted in an absolute waste of much fine work. Thus for the famous Holbein initials which came into use at Basel about 1520 I must refer my readers to the illustrations by Butsch: it is impossible to reproduce them here on handmade paper. Even in Butsch, even in the original books in which they appear, much of the delicacy of the designs is hopelessly lost, for it was impossible that a little picture, often of less than an inch square, however carefully cut, should be adequately rendered when printed in a page of type by workmen who had already lost much of the cunning, or rather much of the capacity for taking pains, of the early masters of the craft.

The new school of designers cast aside, as a rule, any attempt to suit their pictures to the subject of any particular books, taking instead some one theme or idea which they illustrated through all the letters of the alphabet. Thus we have the Child Alphabet and Peasant Alphabet of Holbein, and the same master's still more famous Dance of Death designed for letters slightly larger than the previous ones, but

yet no more than an inch square. The alphabet by the Master I. F. is more than an half as large again as this, and is the most decorative of any, the pictures being drawn in relief against a black ground. The early letters of this alphabet illustrate the labours of Hercules, whose name and that of his antagonists are inscribed upon them. When Hercules was exhausted, the artist seems to have fallen back on the Scriptures, his R representing Lot, his S Balaam, and so on.

These Basel initials, which appear chiefly in books printed by Froben, Bebel, Cratander, and Froschover, were no doubt the parents of the small pictorial initials which soon became popular in Germany, Italy, and England. Their development in Germany may be traced in the pages of Butsch, while the Italian initials of the middle of the sixteenth century have already been dealt with in *Bibliographica* in Mr. A. J. Butler's interesting article (vol. i. pp. 418-27). No one, however, as far as I am aware, has endeavoured to trace the history of pictorial initials in our own country, and I hope that the notes which I have been able to bring together on this part of the subject, scanty as they are, may yet prove of some use as a beginning.

As Mr. Butler has shown, the idea of the Italian alphabets is that the subject of each picture should begin with the letter which is imposed upon it. In a scriptural set A may show us Abraham, B Babel or Balaam, C Cain; in a mythological, A may be Ajax, B Bucephalus, C a Centaur, and so with other subjects. In isolated instances we may trace this connection between letter and word at a much earlier period. Thus in the Lubeck *Josephus* besides the large initials there is also a much smaller D enclosing a picture of David, and it is at least

possible that the choice of the picture was suggested by the letter being the initial of David's name. The novelty to which Mr. Butler drew attention consists in the application of this system of illustration through an entire alphabet, and I have found no good reason for challenging his claim that this novelty originated in Italy. If it is to stand, however, we must put back the first occurrence of these letters to some years before 1546, which is the first positive date he mentions, for in the first Greek book printed in England, the *Homiliæ Duæ* of St. Chrysostom, published by Reyner Wolf in August

FIG. 6.—D AND K, FROM THE *HOMILIÆ DUÆ* OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM, PRINTED BY R. WOLFE. LONDON, 1543

1543, there are four initials which, despite some difficulties as to two of them, probably belong to this class. The letters are (i) a D, here figured, which obviously stands for Diogenes, (ii) an H (used as a Greek *eta*) showing Eli (or Heli) and Samuel, (iii) a K, here figured, representing the fountain of En-hakkore which sprang at Samson's prayer from the jaw-bone of the ass, with which he had slain the thousand Philistines, and (iv) a Q (repeated) depicting the Judgment of Solomon. Despite the existence of two K's in En-hakkore,

and the possibility of the Q standing for Quæstio or Querimonia, the difficulty of fitting the right words to these letters makes it possible that the propriety of the D and H may be accidental, but on the whole the probability is the other way.

The interesting question now arises where did Wolfe get these letters, which have all the appearance of being used here for the first time? Their similarity to the letters to which attention was first called by Mr. Butler is so great that we can hardly doubt that, directly or indirectly, they are of Italian origin. But the introduction of gold-tooling into England by Berthelet, the earliest examples of which occur on books printed in 1541, was undoubtedly effected through Italian workmen, and it is quite possible that these letters were cut in England by Italians living in this country. If, however, further investigation should prove that they were imported, they may help us to determine from what quarter Wolfe obtained his Greek type, of which no complete fount had hitherto existed in England.

Six years after the *Chrysostom* we find traces, in the edition by Whitchurch (March 1549) of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., of another set of scriptural initials of the same character. The four letters which I have noted are an A (Abraham and Isaac), a B (Balaam), an I (Jacob's dream), and an O (Olofernes). The letters are all very much worn, so that the pictures in many instances are barely decipherable.

Of the next pictorial alphabet in English books I have lately been surprised to find one letter in a proclamation printed by Berthelet in 1546, my previous acquaintance of it beginning with books printed more than ten years later. The pictures in this alphabet are all signed with an A, at the top of

which is a little projection suggesting that it stands for the monogram of A. S. My friend Mr. Sayle has found initials with this signature in books printed during the reign of Elizabeth and James I., which nearly make up a complete alphabet, with some letters in duplicate. According to Bryant and Nägler, the engraver Anton Sylvius, who was born at Antwerp in 1526, and worked for Plantin from 1550 to 1573, used the monogram I have described. But I am not wholly satisfied that this A. S. is the same man.

Another point of some difficulty is whether the pictures have any relation to the letters. Some of them come in very neatly, thus E and Europa riding on her bull, M and Mercury, T and a lady, who may very well be Thetis, haranguing a council of gods, another T with Neptune flourishing a very prominent Trident, go well together, but why should a W be illustrated by Hercules and Cacus, or an F by Cephalus and Procris, or an I by the birth of Adonis, or, as a variant, by the picture here shown? Until some ingenious mythologist can explain these puzzles, the connection can hardly be regarded as more than accidental.

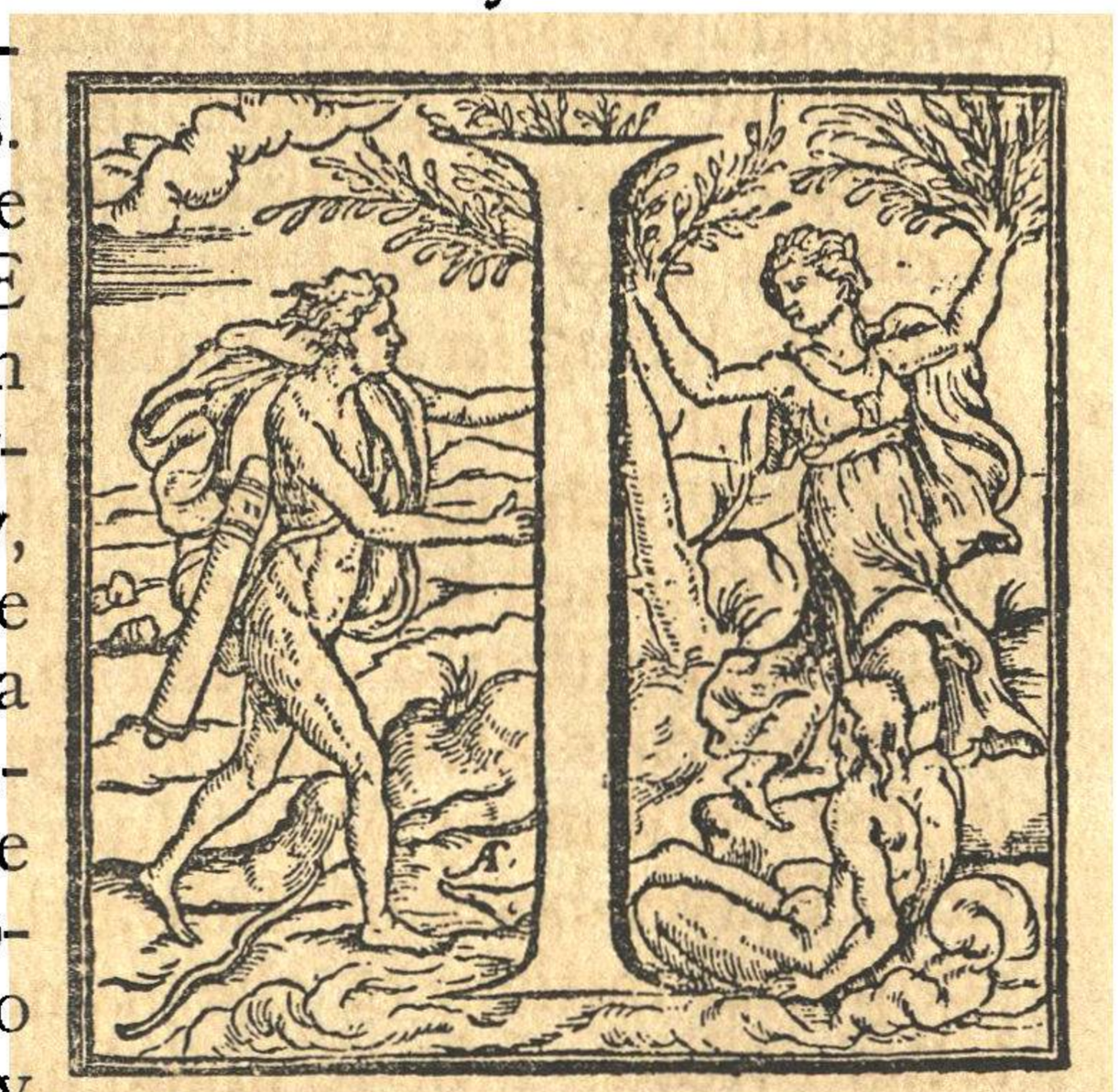


FIG. 7.—PICTORIAL INITIAL ATTRIBUTED TO ANTON SYLVIUS

The same doubt arises as to a much clumsier pictorial alphabet, with large figures in it, found in books and proclamations, printed from 1547

onwards. Here the picture belonging to the T is of Christ and the Tribute-money, but the pictures in other letters seem part of a set illustrating the works of mercy (visiting prisoners, healing the wounded, etc.) and to have no special appropriateness to their initials.

In 1554 we find Cawood in possession of both of these sets of initials. He had obtained the first apparently from Berthelet, and the second from Grafton. The ruder set seems to have soon fallen into disuse, though I find some letters from it in the possession of John Day in 1563, but that of A. S. (individual letters being re-cut as need arose) was passed on to Barker, when he became Queen's Printer, and reappears in several books of the seventeenth century.

In 1548, in Grafton's edition of Hall's *Union of the Families of Lancaster and York*, we find a new experiment in the form of heraldic initials. The dedication to Edward VI. begins with a large O, measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches each way, and containing the very elaborate arms of the author himself; the records of the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VIII., with an open H, that of Henry VI. with a D, of Edward IV. with a P, and of Henry VII. with a fine C (fig. 8), each letter containing the king's arms.

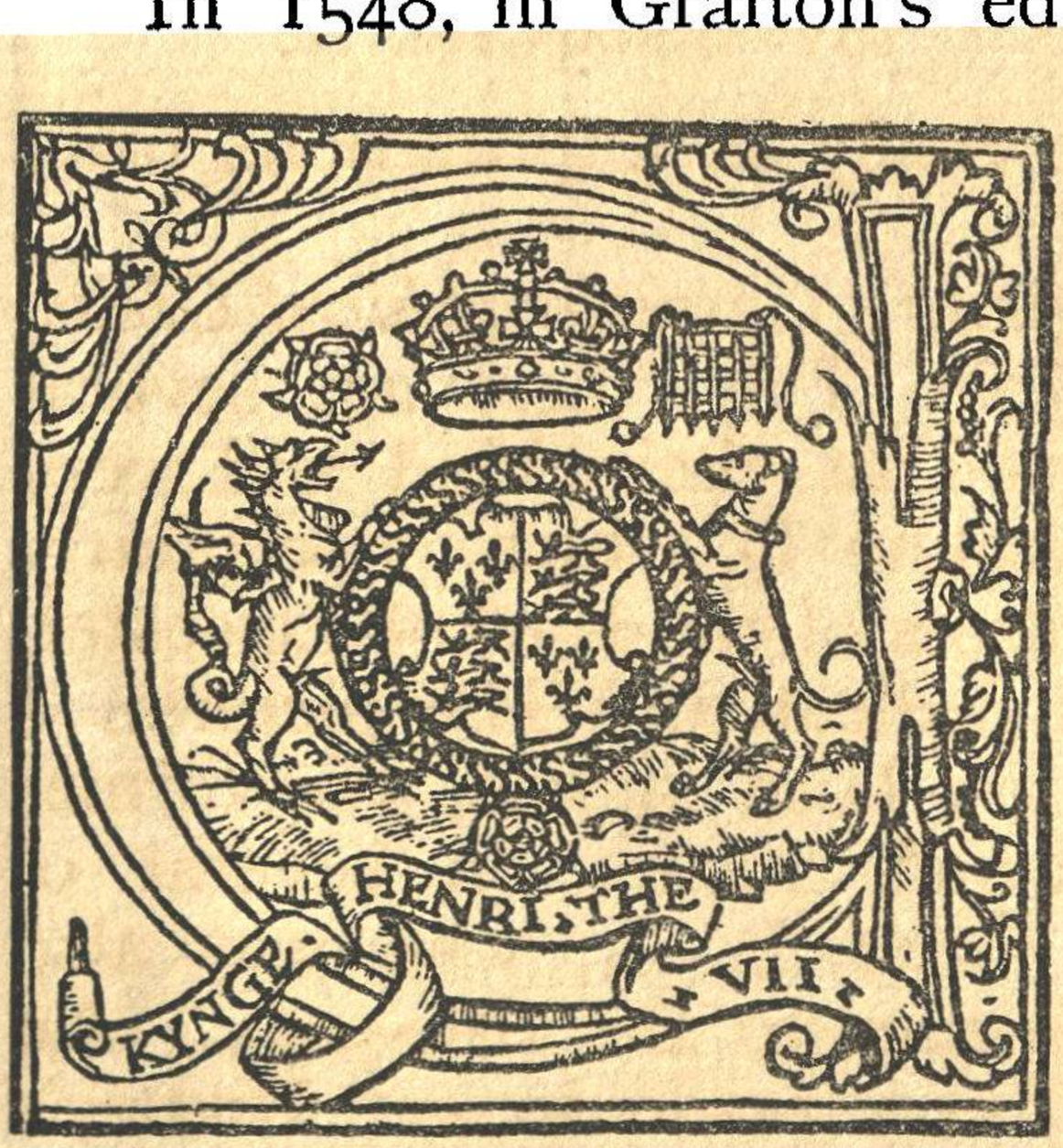


FIG. 8.—HERALDIC INITIAL FROM GRAFTON'S EDITION OF *HALLE*. LONDON, 1548

In 1551, in the quarto Bible printed by John Day, the dedication to Edward VI. by Edmond Becke begins with a really excellent pictorial E (shown in fig. 9), representing the offer of a copy to the king. As in the case of the initials for Halle's Chronicle, this design must have been specially prepared for the book, and therefore presumably in England, so that we need not set down other letters too freely as importations from abroad.

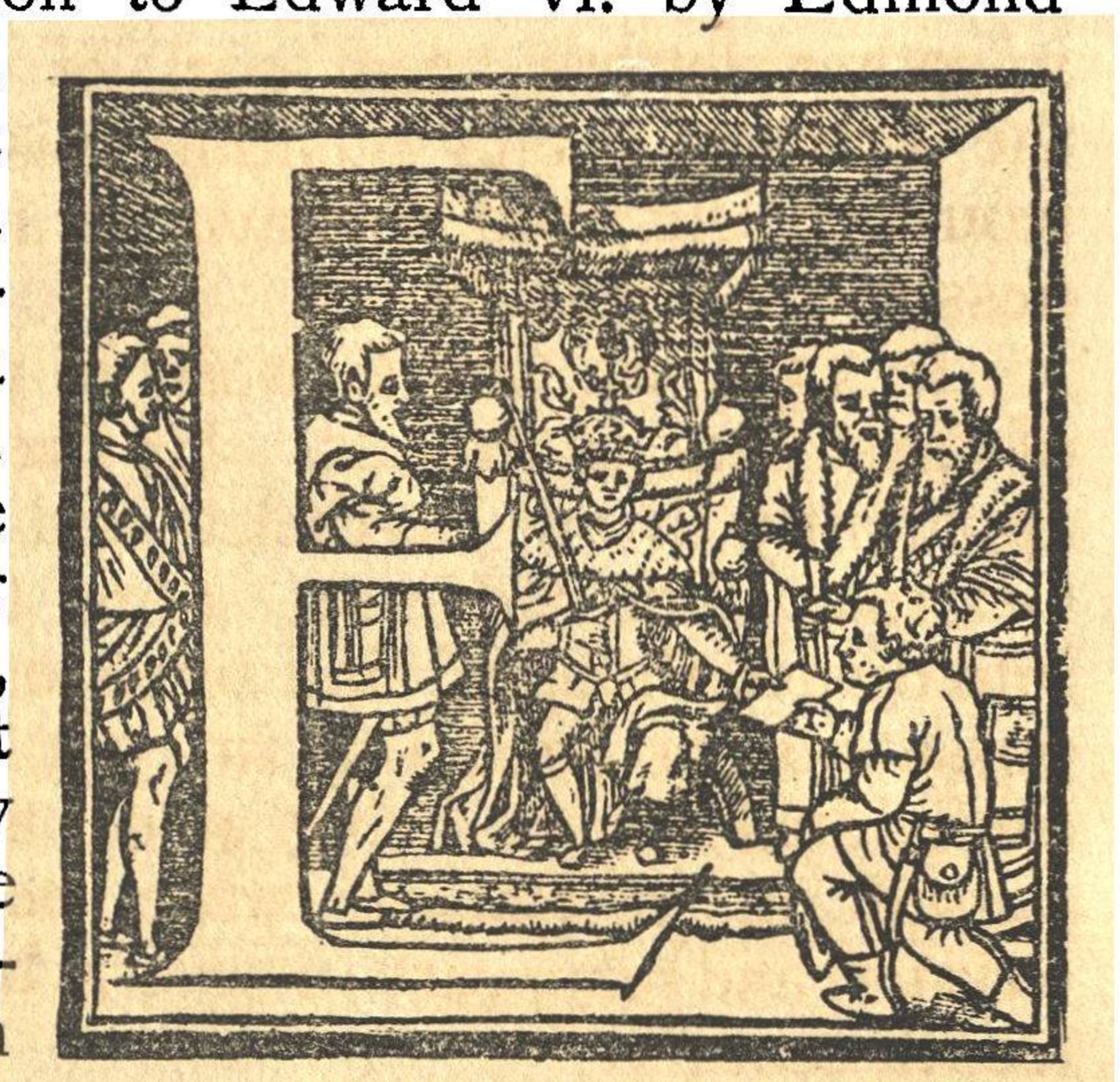


FIG. 9.—FROM A BIBLE PRINTED BY JOHN DAY. LONDON, 1551. 4TO

In 1559 in Cunningham's *Cosmographical Glass*, printed for him by John Day, there are several large initials, very good of their kind and very well printed. The heraldic D, which is peculiarly graceful, contains the arms of the Earl of Leicester, to whom the book is dedicated. The pictorial I and L (here shown) are both signed, the former I. D., a signature which recurs on several of the illustrations, the latter I. B., who was also the designer of the border to the title-page. An effort seems to have been made to get Dudley's arms into a D, as the opening allusion to Dædalus is certainly dragged in by the shoulders. The other two letters shown probably have reference to the subject of the book, the Preface, in which the I is found, laying especial stress on the import-

ance of Cosmography in war. The other pictorial initials in the book are an S, in which one man is pointing to a sun-dial and the other to the sun (signed with a monogram of a C and a small I within it), an A with a procession of satyrs by the same artist, and a T showing sea-gods navigating a ship (signed H).

FIG. 10.—HERALDIC INITIAL CONTAINING THE ARMS OF DUDLEY OF LEICESTER

It is thus obvious that several designers, or engravers, were at work

FIG. 11.—INITIAL SIGNED I. D.

FIG. 12.—INITIAL SIGNED I. B.

FIGS. 10-12.—INITIALS FROM CUNNINGHAM'S *COSMOGRAPHICAL GLASS*, PRINTED BY JOHN DAY, 1559

about this time on pictorial initials, though it will probably be found no easy matter to identify them.

In 1563 most of the letters from the *Cosmographical Glass* are found again in the very rare edition of the music to Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical version of the Psalms, also printed by Day. In the four parts of the book there are three other initials of the same character, a W representing the battle of the Pigmies and the Cranes, a P of Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides, and an R with a hunting-scene (signed with the monogram C. I.). All are excellent.

Two or three more examples of these large initials will bring to a close my notes of those which I have been able to find in English books of this period, though doubtless others are awaiting the research of future investigators. In the first edition of Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, printed by Day in 1570, the large S is repeated from the *Cosmographical Glass*, and shows some signs of wear. Another letter of a slightly larger size by the same designer is found prefixed to the *History of Ireland* in the 1577 edition of *Holinshed* printed by Harrison. This is a T, and the picture it contains shows an astronomer, whom we may perhaps reasonably identify with Ptolemy. If so, we may remember that his name used to be spelt all over Europe with the omission of its first letter, though the true

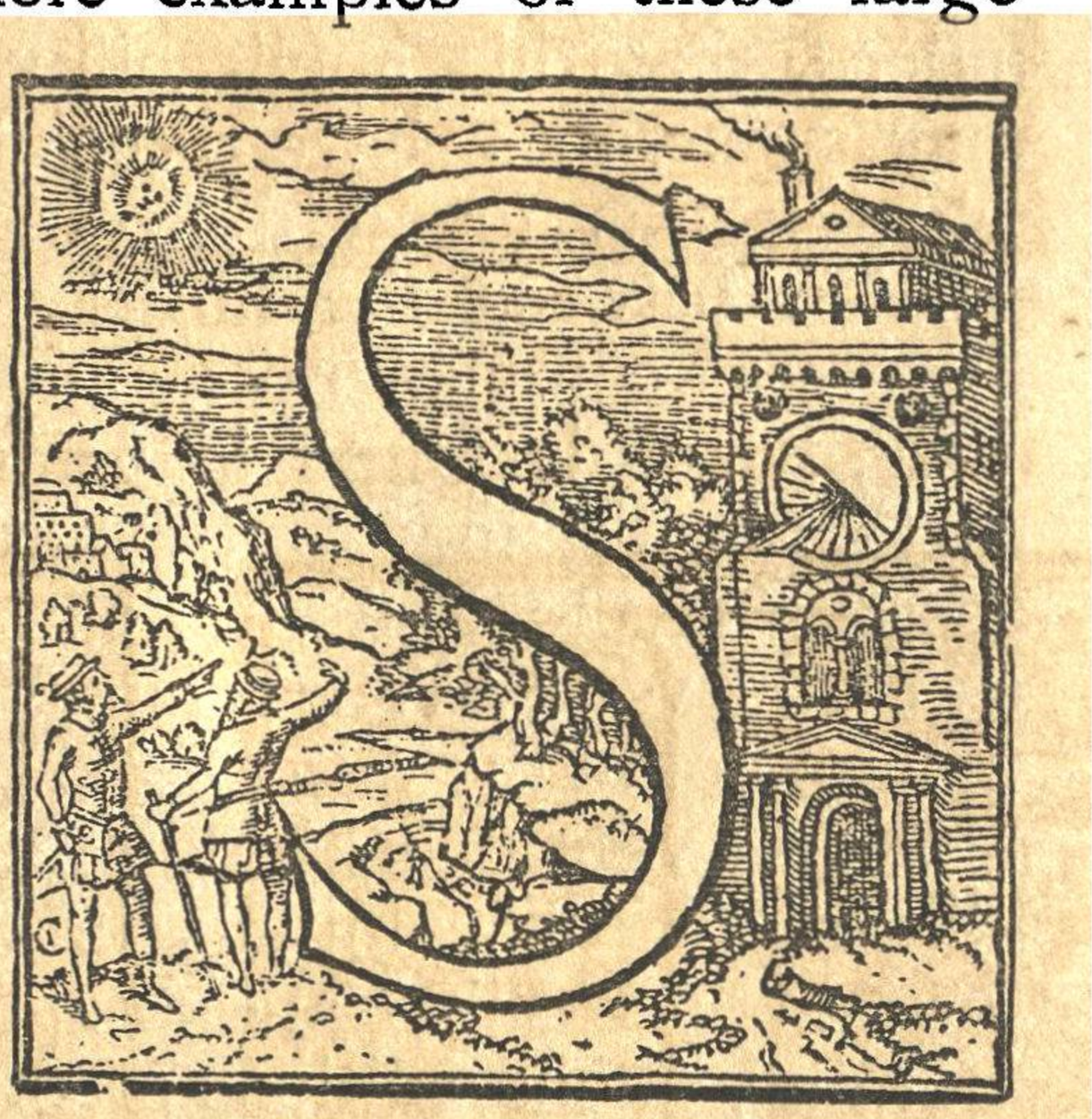


FIG. 13.—FROM ASCHAM'S *SCHOLEMASTER*, PRINTED BY JOHN DAYE, 1570

form seems to be used in English books of this period.

The other pictorial initial in the 1577 *Holinshed*[1] is the largest I have found in any English book, measuring nearly 3½ inches each way. The letter is an I, the subject of the picture the Creation, and it is conceivable that though we find it in an English history, it was originally intended for the first page of a great Bible in which it would fitly have illustrated the words 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.' It is possible, indeed, that this applicability to a particular text may sometimes have been taken as a motive, when it was found difficult to establish a connection between the initial and the subject of a picture as summed up in any single word. Thus a W, which is found in Cawood's books in connection with the A. S. initials, represents the passage of the Red Sea, and irresistibly reminds us of the verse 'When Israel came out of Egypt,' though not of the word Exodus.

Some very fine heraldic initials still remain to be noticed. The initials in the early editions of the English Bible are disappointing, but in the first and second editions of the so-called 'Bishops' Bible,' printed by Jugge in 1568 and 1572, special attention seems to have been paid to them, and besides many small pictorial and decorative letters of interest, there are some really fine examples of heraldic designs. The owners of the arms which I have identified are Archbishop Cranmer, Archbishop Parker, Cecil, Dudley, and Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford. Parker's arms are exhibited in several different letters, generally with

[1] Since this paper was in type I have been shown an earlier example of this letter in a book printed by R. Wolfe in 1563.

his initials M. C. (Matthew of Canterbury), and the date. The form of these heraldic letters is usually graceful, and they are much more easily justifiable on artistic grounds than the pictorial initials at which we have been looking.

FIG. 14.—FROM FOXE'S *ACTES AND MONUMENTES*, PRINTED BY JOHN DAYE, 1576

The title-pages of the Bishops' Bible are adorned with copper-engravings of some merit of Elizabeth herself, Cecil, and Dudley. One of these, I regret to say, has been turned into an initial at the beginning of the Psalms by the

simple device of giving Lord Burleigh a large Roman B to hold in his hand. A less violent and more successful attempt at a portrait-initial is here shown from the editions of Foxe's *Actes and Monumentes*, printed by Day. Another portrait-initial of the Queen is found in an E, which heads one of her Proclamations printed by Purfoot, and an inferior one in an F in another Proclamation printed by Barker.

Some of the heraldic initials of the first and second editions of the 'Bishops' Bible' are repeated, with additional ones of smaller size, in the 1573 edition. Parker's [illegible] are also to be found in the edition of *Ma[illegible] de Paris* issued under his patronage in 1571, Cecil's in the 1577 *Holinshed* already mentioned, and it is probable that a good many others may be discovered. It seems to me, indeed, that students of the history of English printing have hardly paid the attention it deserves to the work of the forty years from 1540 to 1580. The printers and bookmen of this period were not distinguished by much originality, or by delicate artistic taste, but they were men of considerable enterprise, and their interest in their books was great and genuine. This interest and enterprise left a very distinctive mark on the types, the illustrations and the bindings of the books of the period, and though the ideas which underlie them were mostly borrowed from abroad, they were developed with a certain freedom and largeness which are not without their effect.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

NOTICES

History of the Horn-Book. By ANDREW W. TUER. (*Leadenhall Press.*)

MR. TUER'S book suffers a little from his lack of faith in his readers' interest in its subject. Not only has he adorned it with countless playful illustrations, but he has gone tenderly to work, seeking to arouse curiosity by much pleasant writing, so that it is not until the middle of his second volume that he takes up the history of the horn-book in a serious narration. It will be a pity if this timorousness in any way obscures the indefatigable industry which he has brought to his task. He has increased our knowledge of horn-books tenfold, and if we are inclined to question his conclusions on a few points, it is only fair to avow that the facts on which we rely are all taken from his own book.

Two points seem to us of capital importance in the early history of horn-books: (i) We know from the Will of Dame Thomasine Perceval that she had learned her letters 'from a boke of horne,' in Cornwall, somewhere about the date 1450; (ii) the horn-books to which we can assign the earliest date with any approach to certainty are the four printed on a single sheet by Edward Raban of Aberdeen in or about the year 1622. The question in which we are interested is whether we have a right to assign any extant horn-books to a much earlier date. From Dame Perceval's Will it is probable that by 1622 they had been in existence for a couple of centuries, and the numerous references to them towards the close of the sixteenth century show that by that date they were in common use. But some of these references which Mr. Tuer so industriously quotes have suggested to us a point which, if it may be pressed,

is fatal to every horn-book for which he claims a sixteenth-century origin.

Any one who is used to collating old books will remember that when the alphabet has been run through from A to Z, two more signs were often added, the contraction for *et* and the contraction for *con*. When Guillaume de Deguilleville wrote his alphabetical hymn to the Blessed Virgin, he duly added verses beginning with these syllables, and, though Chaucer did not imitate him in this, we know that the contractions for *et* and *con* appear in Caxton's founts.

Now, in Morley's *Introduction to Music* (1608), we have the old Cris-Cross set to music:

> Christes crosse be my speede, in all vertue to proceede, A. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. | i. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. & t. w. v. x. with y. ezod, & per se. con per se | tittle tittle est Amen, when you have done begin againe, begin againe.

In Nash's *Have with you to Saffron Walden* (1596) and in the *pleasant conceited Comedie, wherein is shewed how a man may chuse a good wife from a bad* (1602), we have the same allusion to 'con per se' and 'tittle.' The reference of the 'tittle' is to the 'three prickes at the latter end of the Crosse row,' which in Raban's horn-books are represented by a comma, semicolon, and full stop, but which according to a seventeenth-century writer originally 'made but one stop,' and had a mystical reference to the Trinity. The reference of the *con* can only be to the old contraction, rather like a reversed c. Our point is, that a genuine sixteenth-century horn-book ought to have both the con and the tittle, and that in no extant horn-book is there a con at all, while the tittle is either absent or superseded by marks of punctuation. In opposition to this negative evidence against the two or three

horn-books for which Mr. Tuer claims a sixteenth-century date, we may set his assertion that one horn-book is in a type used by William Copland (*c.* 1560), and another in one used by Henry Denham in 1569. But Mr. Tuer has himself demonstrated that the types used in horn-books were often half a century or more old, and that which he would connect with William Copland is so strikingly like the fourth of Raban's quartette that we see no reason to date it earlier.

Two special instances in which a sixteenth-century date is claimed require separate notice. The first is the alphabet-block in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, with Caxton's cypher and initials. Mr. Tuer is inclined to regard this as a genuine block cut for Wynkyn de Worde. But setting aside some eccentricities in the alphabet itself, if any one will compare the cypher and initials with any of the varieties used by De Worde, and note the undue width of the W, the height of the cypher above the line, and the E-form of the C, he will be convinced that we have here no sixteenth-century block. He may even, if he have read Mr. Proctor's article in this number of *Bibliographica*, be set wondering, if this curious block were a present to the Society of Antiquaries from that ingenuous F.S.A., Mr. John Bagford!

The other horn-book for which a sixteenth-century origin is claimed (in this case, it seems to us, more from courtesy than conviction) is the beautifully mounted specimen in the possession of Lord Egerton of Tatton. This has an Elizabethan pedigree, but no pedigree imaginable can support such a date for an alphabet of Roman capitals which includes a U as well as a V, and prints 'give,' 'deliver,' 'evil,' instead of the Elizabethan

forms 'giue,' 'deliuer,' etc. That the U among the capitals has a lower-case form is neither here nor there. It is found with this form in the middle of the eighteenth century. The point is that in an Elizabethan alphabet of capitals the one form V represented both V and U, and that therefore an alphabet which contains both U and V is not Elizabethan, but considerably later.

One other point occurs to us. In speaking of the 'Wynkyn de Worde' block, Mr. Tuer remarks that 'if it is to be accepted as genuine, it is the only direct evidence of block-printed horn-books.' But unless both the facsimiles given agree in misrepresenting it, the most famous horn-book known, that which sold at the Bateman sale (14th April 1893) for £65, is undoubtedly printed from a block and not from type. The differences in the sizes of the letters, and the crowding towards the end of the lines, prove not only that it was struck from a wood block, but from a very bad one. We do not like to suggest that this also is a forgery, but it is certainly open to some suspicion. Let us hope that it is the work of some zealous cavalier craftsman in Cromwell's day, who wished to issue a horn-book with the effigy of Charles I. on its back, and found himself obliged to cut and print the letters also.

We have taken it for granted that most readers of *Bibliographica* will have read Mr. Tuer's book, and we have therefore discussed only the points in it which seem open to criticism. For the greater part of his monograph we are content to sit at his feet as learners, and, as we have said, we have been rewarded by a tenfold increase of knowledge.

t tercius effudit phialam
super flumina et fontes a
quarum et factus est sanguis.
Et audiui angelum quartum
dicentem. Iustus es qui es et qui
eras sanctus. quia hec iudicasti q
sanguinem sanctorum et pphetarum fuderunt et sanguinem eis
dedisti bibere quo digni sunt. Et
audiui et iam altare dicens. Do
mine deus omnipotens uera et iu
sta iudicia tua.

Iste angelus pphetas designat. per flumina uero et fontes aquarum. duodecem tribus cum suis familiis designantur. Nam et in precedenti uisione per tercium angelum tuba canentem pphetas diximus fuisse designatos. Set ibi tercia par fluminum atq; fontium uersa ee legitur in absinthium per quam eos qui per doctrinam pphetarum amaritudinem penitencie assumpserunt. atq; per eam salui ee meruerunt diximus fuisse designatos. Hic autem in effusione phiale tercii angeli flumina et fontes in sanguinem conuersa fuisse leguntur. Angelus igitur phialam super flumina et fontes aquarum effudit. quando pphete sancti impio pplo uerbum dei annunciauerunt. Set illi ex predicatione sanctorum multo deteriores effecti non solum mandata dei contempserunt. sed et ipsos uerbum dei ministros occiderunt. In sanguinem uero uersi sunt. quia ipsi sibimet ipsis mortem perpetuam intulerunt. et cetera.

Et audiui angelum quartum dicentem. Iustus es qui es et qui eras sanctus. quia hec iudicasti.

Possumus per angelum quartum: angelum illius pli intelligere. qui uidens iusto dei iudicio pplm iniquum ee dampnatum laudat. sententiam iustissimam dei omnipotentis. et quia sanguinem sanctorum et pphetarum fuderunt. sanguinem biberunt. quia pro parte temporali quam iustis intulerunt mortem perpetuam receperunt. et cetera.

Et audiui et iam altare dicens.

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

CALLIGRAPHY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

IN the history of every school of handwriting there are epochs in which perfection is reached, or at least as much of perfection as is attainable by anything which comes from the hand of man; and of the handiwork of such periods there have survived, in most instances, one or more examples which excel the rest as much as those periods excel all others. And it is to be remarked that the best period in the history of a form of handwriting is very often its earliest period, or, rather, the earliest period in which it appears as a handwriting for literary productions. It may, in fact, be generally assumed that its development in the still earlier stages of its existence has been a course of probation, the evidences of which may have perished, and that when it appears before us as a literary hand it owes that position to the excellence to which it has attained, and which has justified its selection as the hand of the professional scribes or school of writing of the time. In some instances, the epoch of highest excellence may be even earlier than we suspect. For example, the most recent discoveries among the

papyri of Egypt have revealed to us the existence of a most beautiful type of Greek handwriting which existed in the third century B.C. Formerly our knowledge of the writing of that century was so limited that we could not say whether the papyri of the second century B.C., of which there had long been known a sufficient number of examples, many of them written in a very fine character, represented a script in a stage of perfection, or whether there was something equally good, if not better, of a more remote time. Now we know that the writing of the second century is a character which had attained its highest excellence a hundred years before; and that fine as, in many instances, are the productions of the scribes of the later period, we have to acknowledge that they are surpassed by many magnificent specimens of the handwriting of their predecessors. This revelation is perhaps the most interesting and instructive lesson that we have ever received in the domain of Greek palæography; and it is also of no slight value in supporting the view that we have been too ready to refuse to the ancients the general practice of an accomplishment which, as the monuments of Egypt and Assyria attest, has been the common property of the civilized world for thousands of years.

But it is not only natural development that brings forward any particular form of handwriting into a leading position as the vehicle for perpetuating literary creations, or for carrying on the affairs of daily life. The accident of writing material has often changed the whole character of an alphabet; and, but for the changes in the use of material, we moderns should be even now writing an entirely different hand, particularly in cursive documents, from that actually in vogue. The substitution of

vellum for papyrus as the common writing material in the early Middle Ages was the cause of the rapid development of that beautiful literary hand which is known to us under the name of Uncial; and had the waxen-tablets of the Romans remained, down to modern times, the common material to receive documents of a cursive nature, the letters of our cursive alphabet would have become as disjointed and altered from their original forms as the cuneiform characters on the clay tablets of Babylonia and Assyria. Again, arbitrary laws have interfered and have diverted the natural course of national hands into more artificial channels; and even the fashion or the inherent beauty of a particular style has had such an influence that other less stable forms have disappeared before it. The old intricate handwritings of the Frankish empire gave place to the simple and graceful minuscule character of the school which was encouraged and fostered by the wisdom of Charlemagne; and the beauty of the half-uncial hand carried it into a position of pre-eminence that has affected the whole course of the handwriting of the later Middle Ages, and eventually the printing types of Italy and modern Europe. Nor have political changes and the influence of foreign countries been without their effect; nor the modifications of artistic sentiment, which have left their mark in the styles of the revolving centuries. The Norman Conquest of England gave the signal for the grafting of the foreign style of handwriting on the native script, producing in the end that fine type so characteristic of English writing of the twelfth century; and the revulsion of artistic taste, from the broad and noble simplicity of that century to the more detailed and decorative manner of the one which followed, is reflected in that wonderfully

minute and exact form of writing which became the vogue throughout Western Europe. Again, in the manuscripts of this period produced in England and the neighbouring countries of the Continent we find proofs of interchanging influences; while the influence exercised by Italy on the countries of the Western Mediterranean is patent in the manuscripts of Southern France and the Peninsula.

In this article we do not propose to place under examination any of the earlier forms of handwriting to which we have incidentally referred. The fine Greek hands of the Ptolemies, and the great series of the Uncial manuscripts, both Greek and Latin, must be left behind. We shall confine ourselves to later styles. But our principal object is to illustrate the calligraphy of the Middle Ages; using that term in its more exact meaning of beautiful writing, and not in the wider sense of handwriting in general.

The striving after beauty in handwriting is as natural to the accomplished penman as the striving after beauty in designing is to the artist. Clearness and legibility in written characters is of course the first object that the writer has in view; but the advance on the mere requirements of legibility to beauty of form and gracefulness of stroke naturally follows. We have noticed above how this perfection in a form of handwriting is, in some instances, presented to us in its earliest examples. Let us take as an illustration that class of Greek hand-writing which is known as the early minuscule character, and which was chiefly in vogue as the literary hand of the hundred years dating from the middle of the ninth to the middle of the tenth century. In this hand we have a perfect form of writing which seems to spring into existence with-

out any forewarning of its birth; there is scarcely any evidence of the stages of refinement through which it must have passed from the period of its infancy down to the time when it emerges into light in that completed growth, the vigour and beauty of which have never been surpassed in any form of Greek minuscule writing that the world has seen. Of course we know that it derives its origin from the ordinary cursive handwriting of the period, worked and moulded into shape, certainly by the master-hands of a great school of writing. But the process we can only surmise; whatever evidences may have existed have perished, just as the evidences of the growth of so many other branches of art have perished, cast aside by the workman when they had served their temporary purpose.

The examples which are here placed before the reader, be it remembered, have been selected as specimens of calligraphy, of beautiful handwriting of a beautiful type. We confine ourselves to three specimens only. The first (fig. 1) is taken from an exquisite manuscript of the works of Lucian, known as the 'codex Marcianus,' in the Harleian collection of the British Museum. It belongs to the beginning of the tenth century; and we can, in fact, almost give it an exact year, for there is another manuscript in the same hand, a copy of works of St. Clement of Alexandria, in the National Library at Paris, which was written in the year 914. Moreover, we know the name of the penman whose handwriting is before us: Baanes, the scribe of Arethas, Bishop of Cæsarea. From cover to cover of the volume this beautiful writing is maintained with a uniformity that is marvellous, and with a never-failing flexibility in the graceful and delicate strokes which bears witness to the extraordinary

precision of touch with which this accomplished scribe must have been gifted. Further, it rises above the ordinary level of the productions of a school of writing, beautiful as some of those productions are; it has a character of its own which

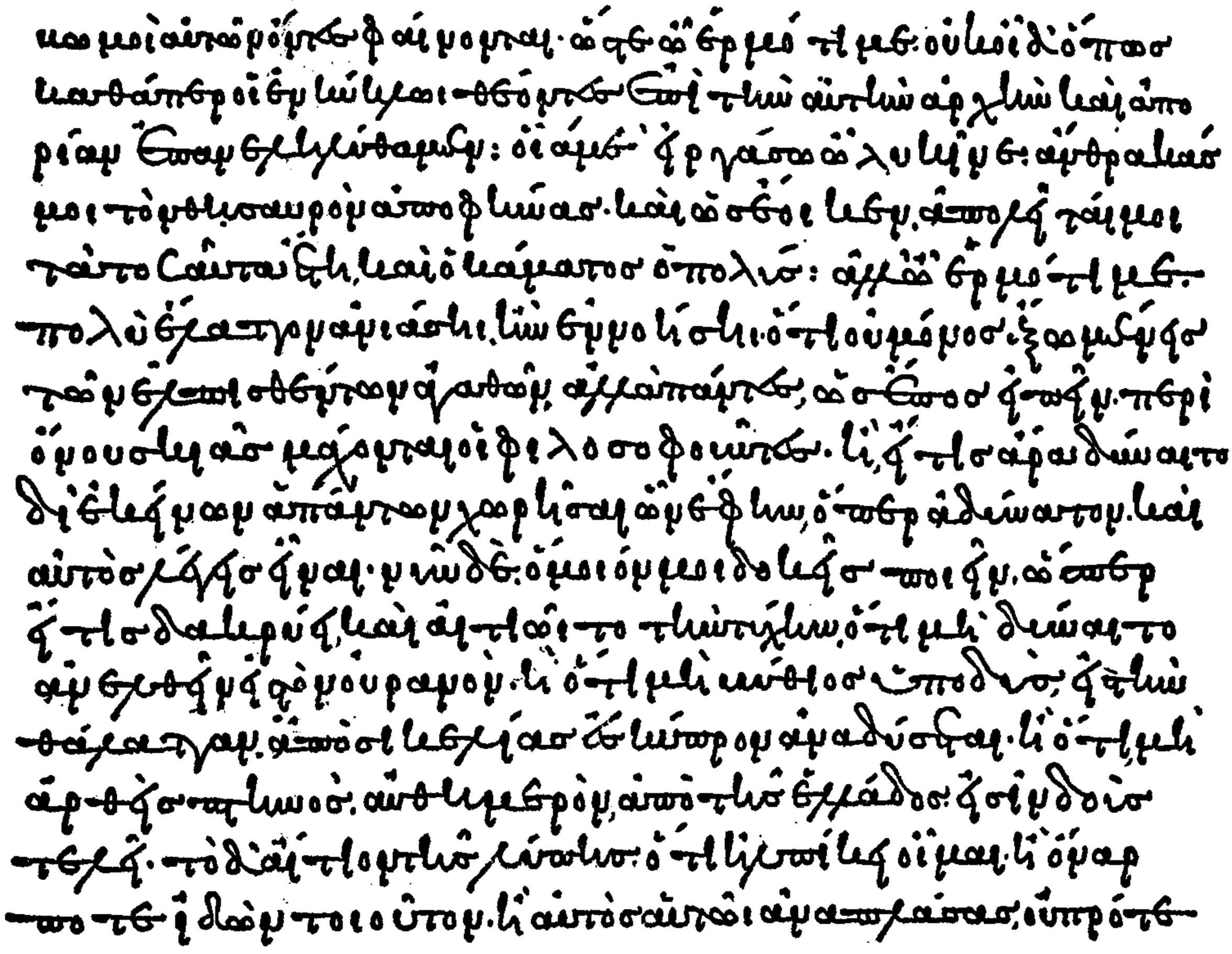


FIG. 1.—FROM THE 'CODEX MARCIANUS' OF LUCIAN: HERMOTIMUS, § 70 (TENTH CENTURY)

marks it as an individual hand, easily recognizable wherever it may be found.[1]

[1] We give a transcript of part of the facsimile (ll. 5-13):—

ἀλλ' ὦ 'Ερμότιμε, πολὺ ἔλαττον ἀνιάσηι, ἢν ἐννοήσηι ὅτι οὐ μόνος ἔξω μένεις τῶν ἐλπισθέντων ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς μάχονται οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες. ἢ εἴ τις ἄρα δύναιτο δι' ἐκείνων ἁπάντων χωρῆσαι ὧν ἔφην, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεις εἶναι. νῦν δὲ ὅμοιόν μοι δοκεῖς ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ εἴ τις δακρύει καὶ αἰτιῶιτο τὴν τύχην, ὅτι μὴ δύναιτο ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἢ ὅτι, μὴ βύθιος ὑποδὺς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐς Κύπρον ἀναδύσεται.

Let us turn to another example of the same period, and present a few lines from one of those

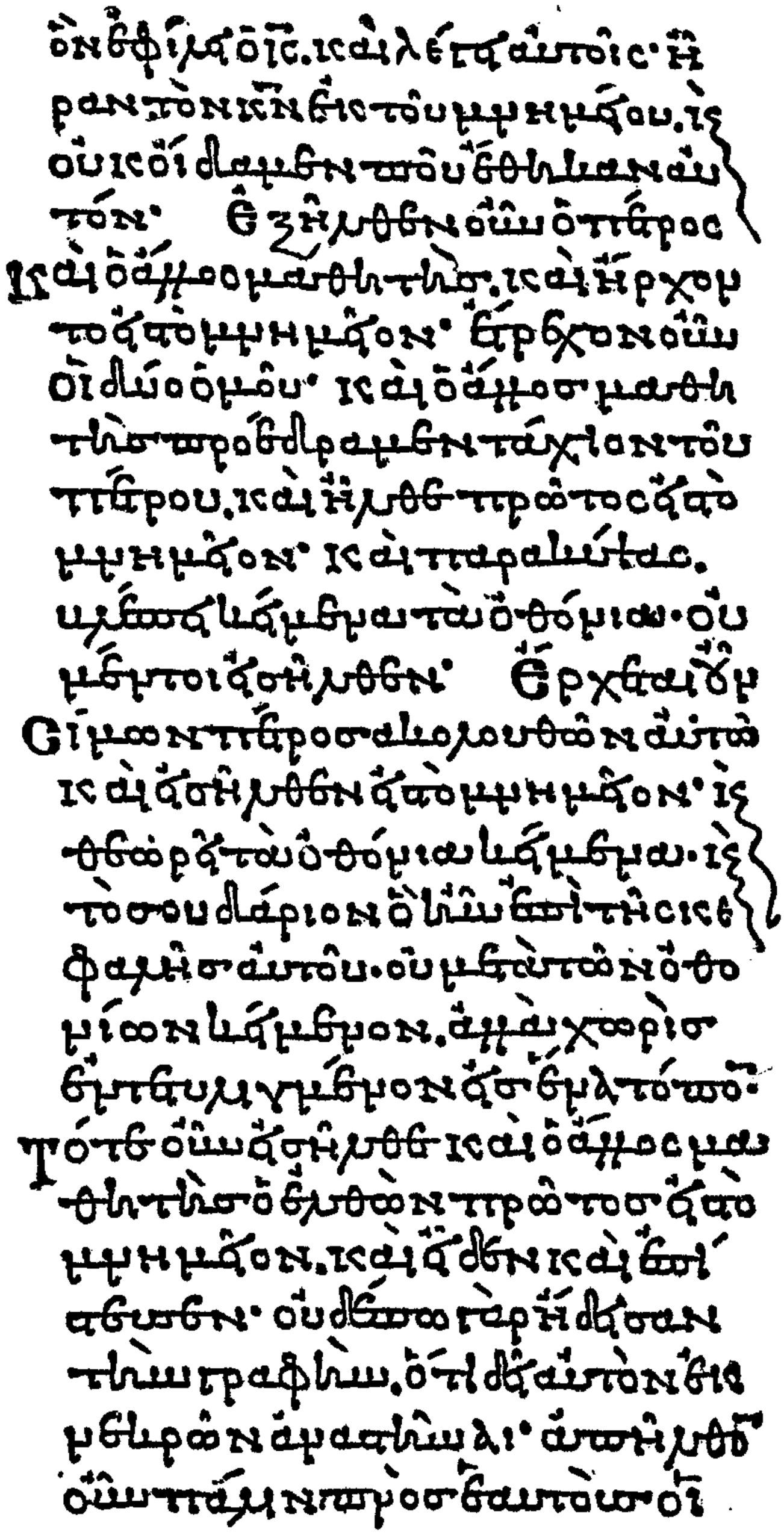


FIG. 2.—FROM A MS. OF THE GOSPELS: JOHN XX. 2-10
(TENTH CENTURY)

wonderfully-written copies of the Gospels, which at one time may have been fairly numerous, the

productions, doubtless, of a school of writing which had elaborated this exquisite character. At the present time, examples of this type are not often to be found. The manuscript which provides our facsimile (fig. 2) is the only one of its kind in the British Museum, the Additional MS. 11,300, traditionally said to have once belonged to the library of the Bishop of Cæsarea Philippi, at the foot of Mount Lebanon. Another example is in the French National Library, a facsimile of which is to be found in Monsieur Omont's *Facsimilés des plus anciens Manuscrits Grecs*, 1892. In absolute exactness of formation of the letters this manuscript even surpasses the Lucian which gave us our first facsimile; but in its extreme formality, perhaps, it loses the character of individuality which we noticed in the latter. We venture to name this example as an exquisite production of a scribe trained to such perfection that he works almost with the precision of the printing-press. And we must also bear in mind that copies of the Gospels are just the class of manuscripts upon which the greatest pains were bestowed, either from reverence for the sacred nature of the book, or because a beautifully-written manuscript would be certain to command a high price among the pious laity. But, for whatever purpose it was produced, there stands the manuscript to bear witness to the power of the Greek scribe of the early part of the tenth century, to which period we may, without diffidence, assign it.

A third facsimile (fig. 3) introduces us to another manuscript written in a similar character but of a larger type. It is a copy of the 'Scala Paradisi' of St. John Scholasticus or Climacus, Abbot of Mount

Sinai, an excellent example of the tenth century. Comparing the writing with that of the two fore-

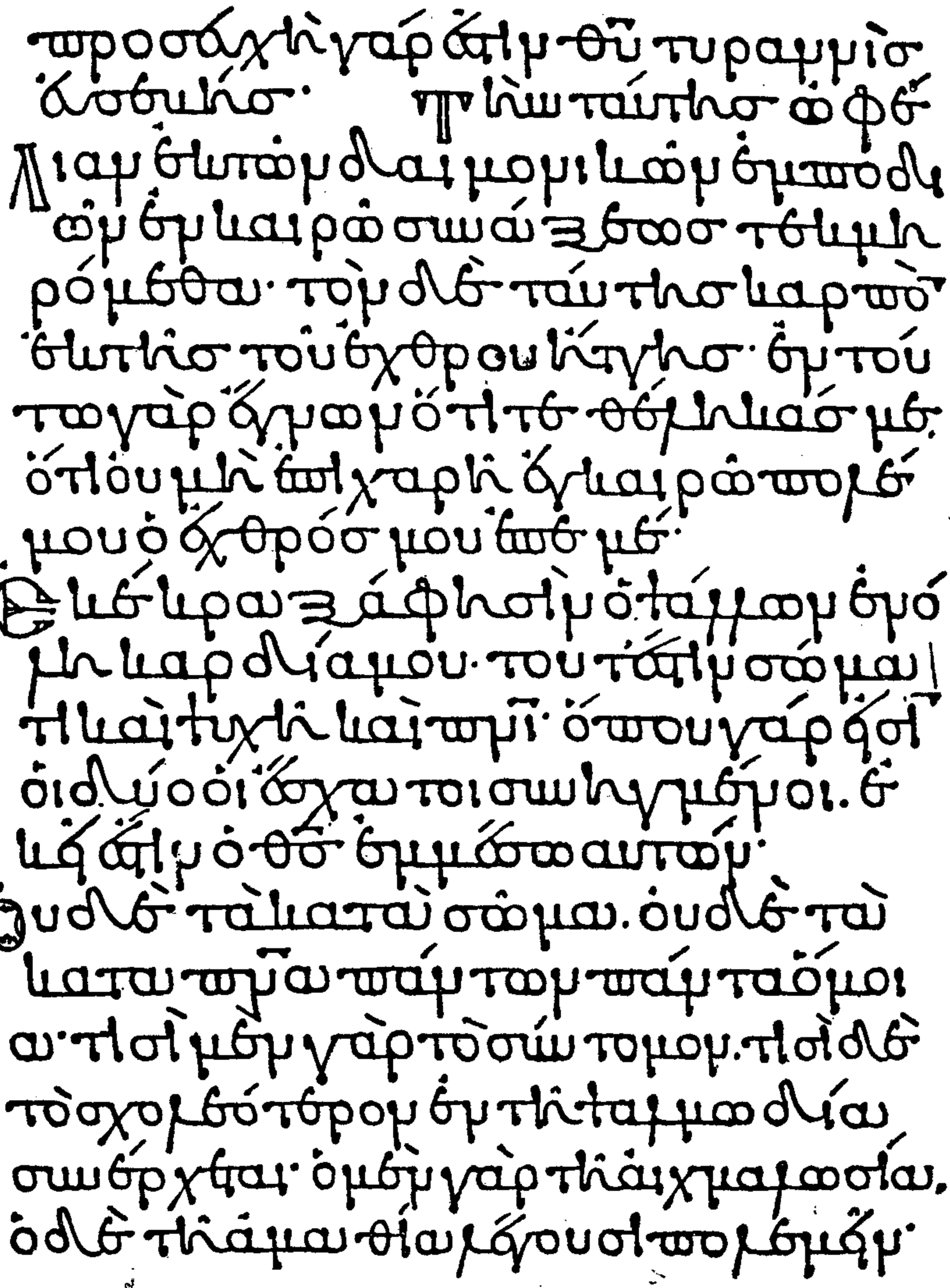


FIG. 3.—FROM THE 'SCALA PARADISI' OF ST. JOHN CLIMACUS, GRAD. XXVIII. (TENTH CENTURY)

going specimens, we see at once that the forms of the letters are practically identical; and yet, in

general appearance, there is a difference. This is caused by a slight compression of the letters, and more especially by the sloping of the strokes rather to the left. In all three facsimiles the writing would be classed as an upright hand; in this one the inclination falls, as we have said, a little backward, with the result that the text has an air of compactness which, added to the beautiful formation of each individual letter, places a carefully written manuscript such as this in the front rank of Greek calligraphy.[1]

Let the three specimens that we have selected suffice to give the reader an idea of what we contend to be the most beautiful type of Greek minuscule writing that has ever been created. Fine as is the character of many of the manuscripts turned out by the Greek refugees in Italy in the period of the Renaissance, which, from the time of Aldus onwards, were taken as models for the founts used in the productions of the printing-press, none of them, in our judgment, can compare with the fine bold writing of the calligraphic manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries. Those who are in search of a model for a Greek fount which shall combine grace, strength, and legibility need surely not go far afield with such examples at their command as the manuscripts which we have been describing.

With the history of the development of the Latin minuscule writing of the Middle Ages we are better acquainted. The uncial character which seems to have reigned almost supreme as the leading literary

[1] Part of the facsimile (ll. 2-14) is as follows :—

Τὴν ταύτης ὠφέλιαν ἐκ τῶν δαιμονικῶν ἐμποδιῶν ἐν καιρῷ συνάξεως τεκμηρόμεθα· τὸν δὲ ταύτης καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἥττης· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἔγνων ὅτι τεθέληκάς με. ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐπιχαρῇ ἐγ καιρῷ πολέμου ὁ ἐχθρός μου ἐπε μέ. Ἐκέκραξά φησὶν ὁ ψάλλων ἐν ὅλη καρδία μου· τουτ' έστιν σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ πνεύματι· ὅπου γάρ εἰσιν οἱ δύο οἱ ἔσχατοι συνηγμένοι. ἐκεῖ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς ἐμ μέσω αὐτών.

hand from the fourth to the ninth century, only weakly rivalled by the older capital character in its two forms of square capitals and rustic capitals, was, after all, a cumbrous and expensive vehicle for the diffusion of knowledge. We cannot imagine that the poor scholar would submit to the deprivation of mental food because he could not afford to purchase the works of the great authors in grand uncial volumes, such as many of those which have descended to us. Copies in the ordinary cursive hands of the day must have been common enough; but they have perished, the ordinary working tools of the student who would not care what became of them when they had served his turn. It was, surely, in this way that the form of writing which we are now about to consider—the half-uncial writing, that character which combines some of the elements of the uncial hand with others of the cursive hand—first took shape, and eventually, in its finished stage, was accepted as a literary script to be employed in the production of manuscripts of the first rank. In its primitive form it was no doubt a rough mingling of uncial and cursive letters, used by scholars for annotating the margins of texts, the circumscribed space of which necessitated a more precise and condensed process than could be accomplished in the ordinary cursive hand. Such annotations in this mixed character are to be seen in not a few manuscripts that have survived to our time; and may be compared with the notes which, under similar conditions, we enter on the margins of our books, in a closely written hand, in which, for the saving of space, we employ forms copied from printed type in conjunction with others of our ordinary writing. The gradual development of this mixed form of handwriting, and its consequent moulding into a

fixed shape, would naturally follow; and the comparative speed with which it could be inscribed, as well as its compactness, would recommend it as an alternative for the more slowly written and spacious uncial. This development must have been worked out at an early date, for there are still extant a fair number of codices of the sixth and seventh centuries, written, as it appears, in Italy or France, in the half-uncial, or, to give it its more technical designation, the Roman half-uncial character. Running side by side with uncial writing, but at first in a narrower channel, its ultimate position as the stock of the minuscule hands of the later Middle Ages was assured by the fact of its being a more practical and useful script than the uncial, which may be said to have come to an end from simple exhaustion. The older form of writing was, in fact, on too grand a scale to suit the increasing requirements of the growing world.

Much would have to be written and many examples produced in order to describe and illustrate, in an adequate manner, the progress and variety of the Roman half-uncial hand. But we must not deviate from the narrower line which we have to follow in this article, and we proceed at once to place before the reader the most beautiful example of its early type. The facsimile (fig. 4) represents a portion of a page of a manuscript now in the library of the monastery of Monte Cassino, containing Biblical commentaries ascribed to Saint Ambrose, and written before the year 569. In this example, although the manuscript has somewhat suffered from the effects of age, we see what an exquisite piece of work could be produced in the middle of the sixth century by the Italian scribes who practised this hand, and scarcely a glance at our fac-

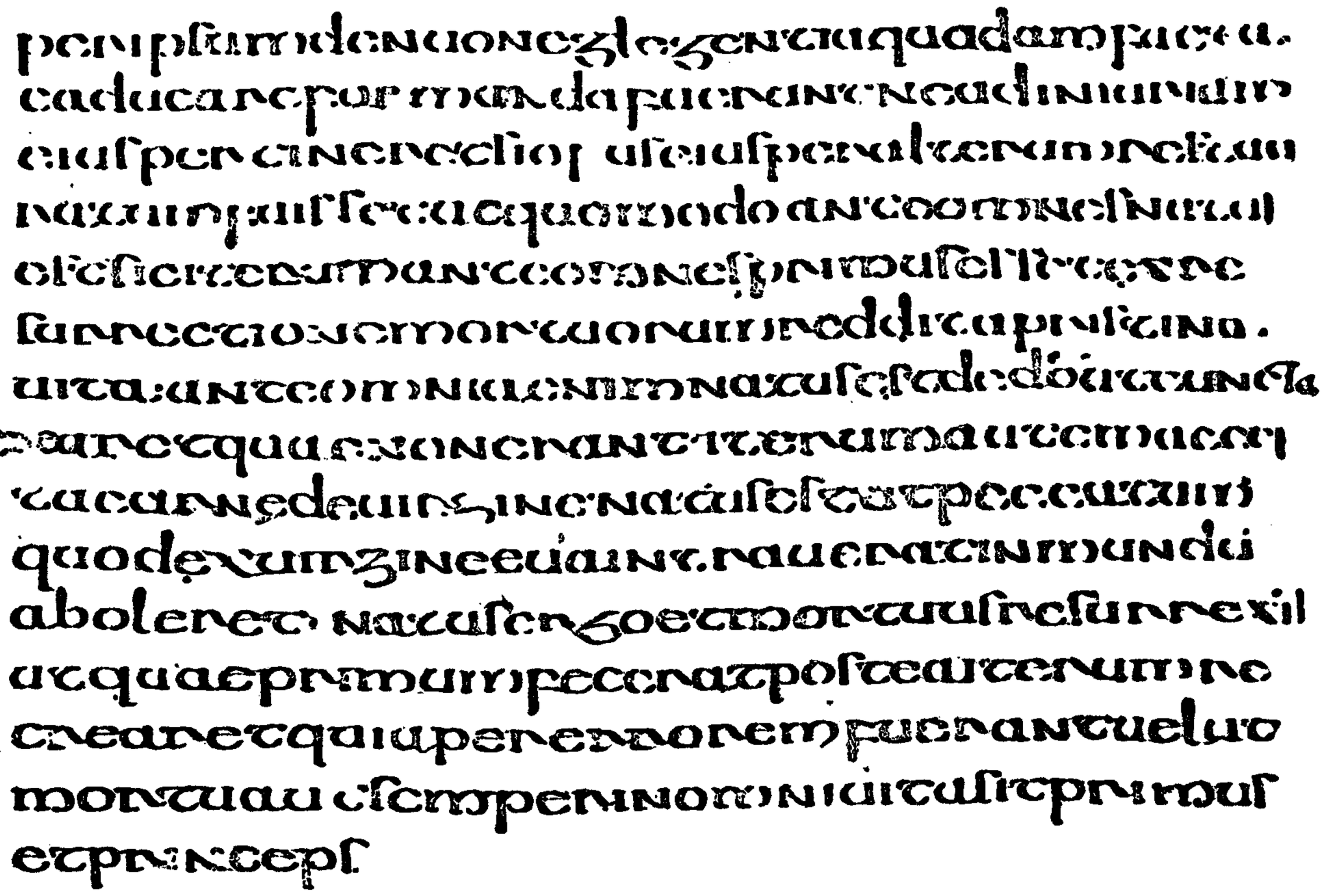


FIG. 4.—FROM A MS. OF BIBLICAL COMMENTARIES AT MONTE CASSINO, WRITTEN BEFORE 569

simile is needed to give us the reason for the position of the half-uncial character as a predominating influence in deciding the lines on which modern European handwriting was to run. Even at the beginning of the century it had already been moulded into an extremely fine script, there being still extant a manuscript of a work of St. Hilary, in the archives of St. Peter's at Rome, which was written before the year 509, and which is only inferior to our present example in being a handsome text, and not a calligraphic one in the restricted sense in which we are employing that epithet.

No wonder, then, that the Roman half-uncial hand began to extend in favour. We have already noticed that the extant manuscripts in this character are due to Italy and France. But it comes nearer home to us as the script which was taken as its model by the Irish school of writing, and through that medium was the original source of English handwriting as practised down to the time of the Norman Conquest. To illustrate this phase of the half-uncial writing we have recourse to a manuscript which has already been used for another purpose in these pages (*Bibliographica*, vol. i. pp. 132 *sqq.*), but which has so many merits in different palæographical aspects that we need not apologize for putting it under contribution a second time. The 'Durham Book,' or copy of the Gospels written at Lindisfarne in honour of St. Cuthbert about the year 700, is a specimen of exquisite calligraphy of the northern English school. The few lines which are here placed before the reader (fig. 5) will not only satisfy him that these words of praise are not too extravagant, but they also show, on comparison with the preceding facsimile, how the English half-uncial

bears in its general features the proof of its line of descent.

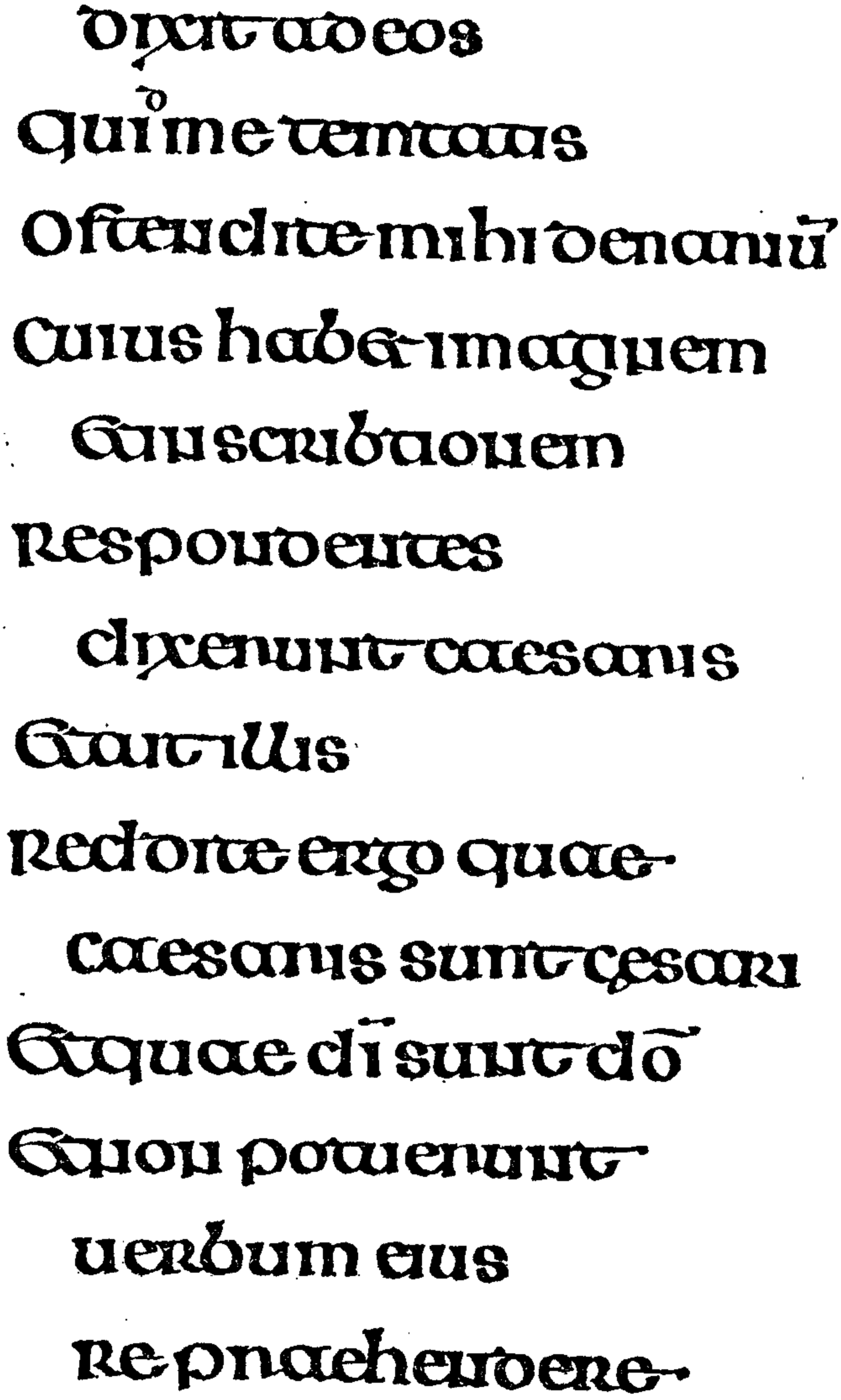


FIG. 5.—FROM THE 'DURHAM BOOK' OR LINDISFARNE GOSPELS, *c.* 700

But this excursion into England to view this fine example of native calligraphy is only incidental.

The direct action of the Roman half-uncial writing on the later hands of the Middle Ages is to be sought in the period of that reform of the degenerate and involved styles of writing of the Merovingian times which was initiated by Charlemagne and carried out chiefly in the school of the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours under the superintendence of its English abbot, Alcuin. The wide influence exercised by this school in the formation and consolidation of that beautifully clear and simple script which we know as the Carlovingian, or Caroline, minuscule, and which soon superseded all the other hands of Western Europe, is now generally acknowledged; and the illustrative facsimiles which have been published during recent years in connection with what has been written upon the subject provide ample means for forming a judgment.[1] Taking the Roman half-uncial writing for their chief model, the penmen of Tours produced two styles of hand: the one of a more ornamental character, and employed by them in important or prominent parts of the text, which followed closely the original pattern; the other less elaborate, and embodying a larger number of minuscule forms, which practically are the same as those of the lower-case letters of our modern Roman type. We illustrate the more elaborate style, which has been named Caroline half-uncial, by a facsimile (fig. 6) of a few lines of a manuscript containing collections relating to the life and acts of St. Martin, and written at Tours in the first half of the ninth century. This manuscript now belongs to the library of Quedlingburg, and is a very handsome specimen of Caroline writing in its early and most beautiful form. Let

[1] See in particular the monograph by Monsieur Léopold Delisle: *Mémoire sur l'École calligraphique de Tours au ixe siècle*, in the Memoirs of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1885.

us compare this specimen, letter by letter, with that drawn from the Roman half-uncial manuscript of Monte Cassino (fig. 4), and we see how closely it follows the older hand. The characteristic feature, too, of the Roman hand, breadth in the formation of the letters, is also conspicuous in the Caroline hand, showing how well the later scribes have caught the spirit of their predecessors. At the same time, as we have noted above, they also provided a simpler style

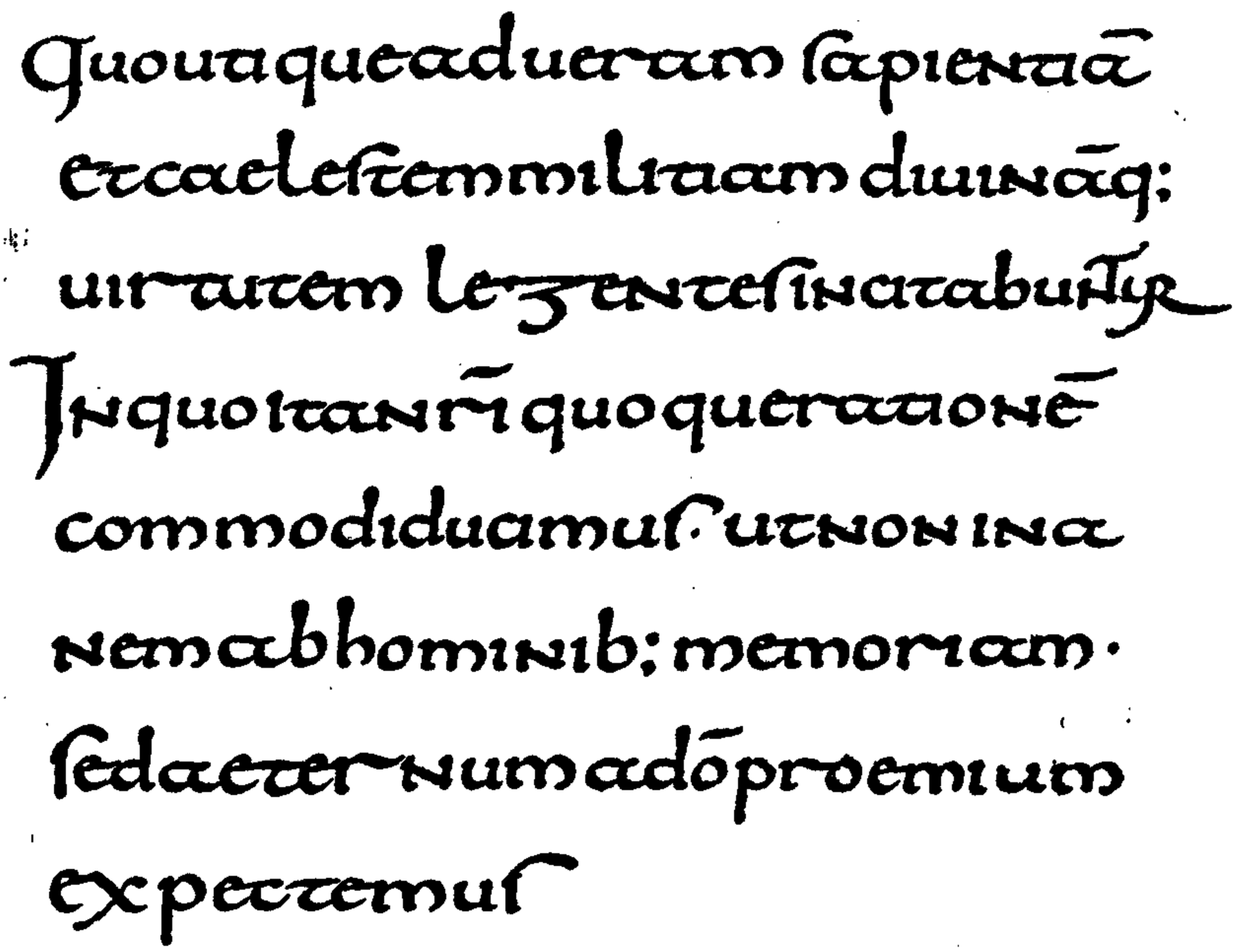


FIG. 6.—FROM THE 'LIFE AND ACTS OF ST. MARTIN,' WRITTEN AT TOURS. (NINTH CENTURY)

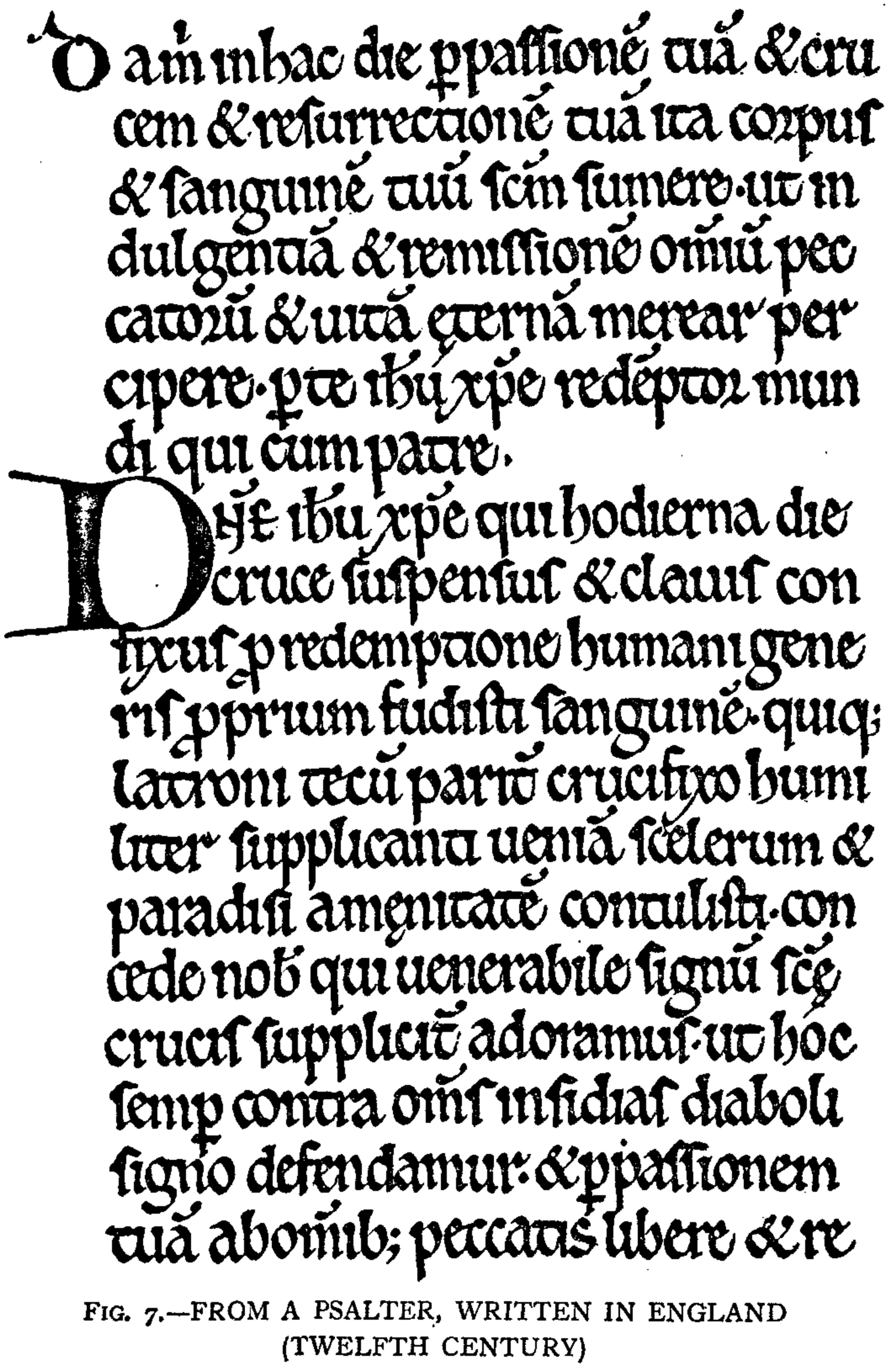
of handwriting, the so-called Caroline minuscule, which would be found more practically useful as an ordinary literary hand, conscious no doubt that the archaism of their half-uncial would stand in the way of its adoption for general purposes.

We have already said that the Caroline minuscule eventually superseded other forms of hand-

writing in Western Europe. Let us suppose some centuries to have passed since the date of the last specimen, centuries during which each individual country had been giving its own character to, and nationalizing, the adopted hand; and let us take a brief glance at a few examples which show us to what excellence, as calligraphers, some of the writers of England and France and Italy attained. Other countries we must pass by on account of the limits of the space at our disposal.

The history of writing in England after the Norman Conquest is especially interesting. That event, as we know, imposed the foreign type of writing upon the country, to the eventual exclusion of the native hand; and we have thus a curious illustration of the uncertainties and mixed fortunes that often attended the course of development of a national hand. The English national hand of the Saxon heptarchy was, as we have seen above, derived, through the Irish, from the Roman half-uncial. This practically comes to an end with the accession of William the Conqueror; but the Roman half-uncial, travelling by a different line, is again the original source of the new hand that is brought in from abroad. The spirit of English writing, then, of the Middle Ages is in a twofold degree drawn from that fine old type; and in the early period it did credit to its origin. In the twelfth century the English hand was of a particularly handsome bold character. The first specimen that we select to support this assertion (fig. 7) is drawn from a very beautiful Psalter, with Prayers, written with great precision in a remarkably graceful hand in the middle of the twelfth century. This manuscript, which belongs to the Lansdowne collection, No. 383, in the British Museum, unfortunately bears no

indication of the monastery where it was produced; but it is of a southern type, and resembles in many respects other contemporary manuscripts which were


O am̃ in hac die ꝓpassionē tuā & cru cem & resurrectionē tuā ita corpus & sanguinē tuū sc̃m sumere. ut in dulgentiā & remissionē om̃iū pec catorū & uitā ęternā merear per cipere. ꝓte ihū xp̃e redēptor mun di qui cum patre.

Dñe ihū xp̃e qui hodierna die cruce suspensus & clauis con fixus ꝓredemptione humani gene ris ꝓprium fudisti sanguinē. quiq; latroni tecū part̃ crucifixo humi liter supplicanti ueniā scelerum & paradisi amęnitatē contulisti. con cede nob̃ qui uenerabile signū sc̃ę crucis supplicit̃ adoramus. ut hoc semp contra om̃s insidias diabolu signo defendamur. & ꝓpassionem tuā abom̃ib; peccatis libere & re

FIG. 7.—FROM A PSALTER, WRITTEN IN ENGLAND (TWELFTH CENTURY)

written in the scriptorium of St. Alban's Abbey. However, we only hazard the suggestion of its possible connection with that house. The beauty

of the writing appeals to the eye without calling for any words in its praise. It is indeed a delightful specimen of English work; and we may notice also how perfectly formed are the initial letters of the verses, which in the original are in colours. We place by its side another example (fig. 8) of the same century, taken from a manuscript containing the Book of Leviticus and the Gospel of St. John, with commentary, now in the Harleian collection, No. 3,038, in the British Museum. Of this manuscript we know the provenance: it was written in the Abbey of St. Mary at Buildwas, in Shropshire, in the year 1176. Strength is the leading characteristic of this hand, a masculine strength, conspicuous in every stroke, and carrying out its work with unconquerable precision. These two specimens may suffice to illustrate what we mean when we speak of the power and beauty of the English script which developed after the Norman Conquest.

It must not, however, be forgotten that what is said of the writing of any one of the three northern districts of Europe, England, Northern France, and the Netherlands, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is in some degree applicable to the others also. In those two hundred years the intercommunication between the three countries had the effect of bringing them much under the same influences in their artistic productions; and in their manuscripts, as well as in other works of art, we find particular styles which were followed in common, or which at least are not very easily distinguishable. If, then, we insist on the beauty of English writing in the twelfth century, we must also remember that Northern France and the Netherlands can give us examples of not inferior merit; and if we go abroad

for selected specimens of the writing of the thirteenth century, we do not imply that equally beautiful examples were not produced in our own country.

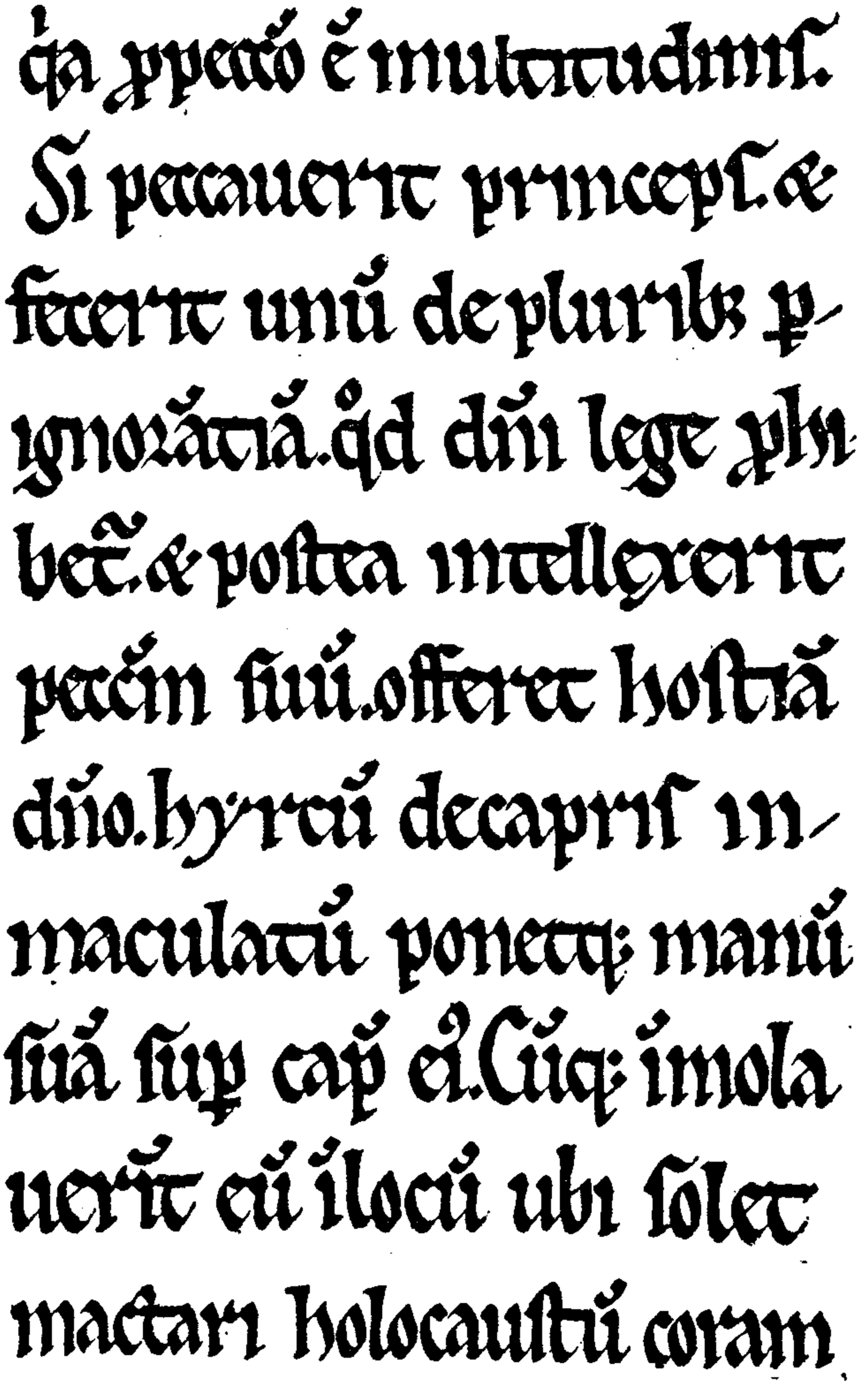


FIG. 8.—FROM A MS. OF LEVITICUS, WRITTEN IN ENGLAND, 1176

Our choice merely falls upon those manuscripts which are ready to our hands, and which commend

themselves for our present purpose as pieces of calligraphy. As representatives, then, of the later time, we take two manuscripts written in France in the second half of the thirteenth century. The first (fig. 9) is a very wonderful instance of the success with which a scribe of that period could pack an incredible amount of matter into a comparatively small space. The employment of a small character of handwriting and of extremely fine vellum enabled him to accomplish this feat. This manuscript, the Additional MS. 23,935 in the British Museum, contains a whole corpus of church offices for the use of the Dominicans, written perhaps as early as 1260 and certainly not later than 1275. The volume is an octavo, not very thick, but it is made up of as many as 579 very thin leaves of vellum. The character of the handwriting is quite in the best style of French work of that time. Compact, beautifully regular, and delicately formed, such writing, maintained for page upon page, with scarcely a fault, bears testimony to the astonishing pitch of mechanical skill to which the writers of this century were trained. The contrast of this minute work with the bold outlines of the handwritings of the twelfth century is severe; and though the grander style of the older work appeals to us as the truer and more artistic, no one can deny that the scribe of the thirteenth century succeeded in reaching the highest standard attainable in the style which he had adopted. The second French example of this century being partly on a larger scale affords us a still better means of analyzing this class of handwriting. It is selected (Plate xii.) from a beautiful manuscript of the Apocalypse now in the Bodleian Library, which was written about the year 1280, famous also for containing some of the most perfect

outline drawings of the time. The similarity of style of these two examples is at once apparent;

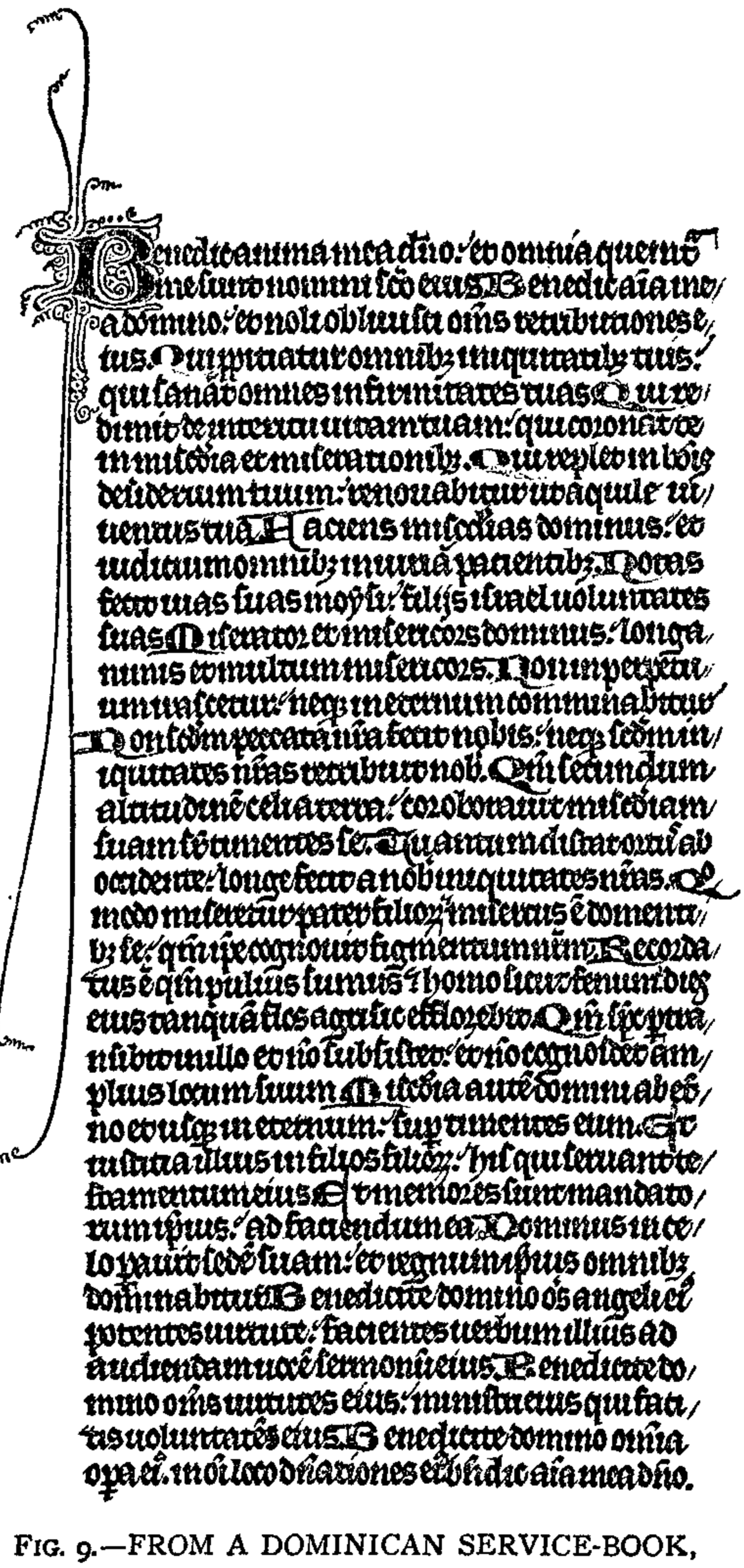


FIG. 9.—FROM A DOMINICAN SERVICE-BOOK, WRITTEN IN FRANCE, *c.* 1260-1275

and both unmistakably bear the impress of the French character of hand. Further words of praise

are needless: the two manuscripts are perfect examples of the calligraphy of their period; and the facsimiles speak for themselves.

We must now return to Italy, the country in which we found our calligraphic example of the Roman half-uncial, and see how the national hand developed. But, first of all, let us remark that the sense of beauty with which the nation was endowed never appears to have failed in the production of manuscripts written with the intention of being fine examples. It has not been given to all the nations of Europe to write beautifully, even though they tried to do so; but the Italian script maintained that perfect roundness which is so characteristic of the half-uncial, and which in the end ensured the adoption of the Italian models for the printing types of the Western world.

There is in the British Museum a noble volume of homilies and church lessons, the Harleian MS. 7,183, written in Italy probably in the first half of the twelfth century, which we never tire of citing as a landmark in the domain of Italian mediæval palæography. We here reproduce (fig. 10) a portion of a column of its text, and ask the reader to compare the writing with the facsimile (fig. 4) of the Roman half-uncial manuscript of Monte Cassino. The relationship of the two is obvious, and yet they are not perfectly similar. In the first place, the difference is to be accounted for by the long space of time between the periods at which they were respectively written; and again, a share in the difference must be allowed to the influence of the Caroline reform. But still, notwithstanding that interposing influence, the descent of our present manuscript from the older one is sufficiently evident. One would not wish for a better type of writing for a national

dert·Aliud ẽ enĩ intellegere uelle qđ
clausum ẽ: aliud nolle credere quod
apertum ẽ·Qui dicit scire uolo cur ita
xp̃s matri respondert: aperiri sibi uult
ꝯugtm au credit·Qui autẽ dicit·scio
hoc quod hoc xp̃s non matri respon-
dert·ipsum ꝯugtm arguit dem̃dacio·
ubi credit: quod ita xp̃s respondert·
Jam ergo si placet frs illis repulsis·et
in sua cecitate semp errantib; mihi humi-
liter sanentur: nos quęramus quare dns
nr sic matri respondert·Ille singulariter
natus·de patre sine matre; Sine matre
deus·sine patre homo·Sine matre ante
tempora·sine patre in fine temporum·
Quod respondit: matri respondit·Qua
erat ubi erat mater thu·et dixit ei mater
eius·Hoc totũ ꝯugtm loquitur·Hic no-
uimus: qa erat ubi mater ihu·ubi nouim

FIG. 10.—FROM A MS. OF HOMILIES, WRITTEN IN ITALY (TWELFTH CENTURY)

hand; and, proceeding on the same lines, there follows the development from it of the Italian style

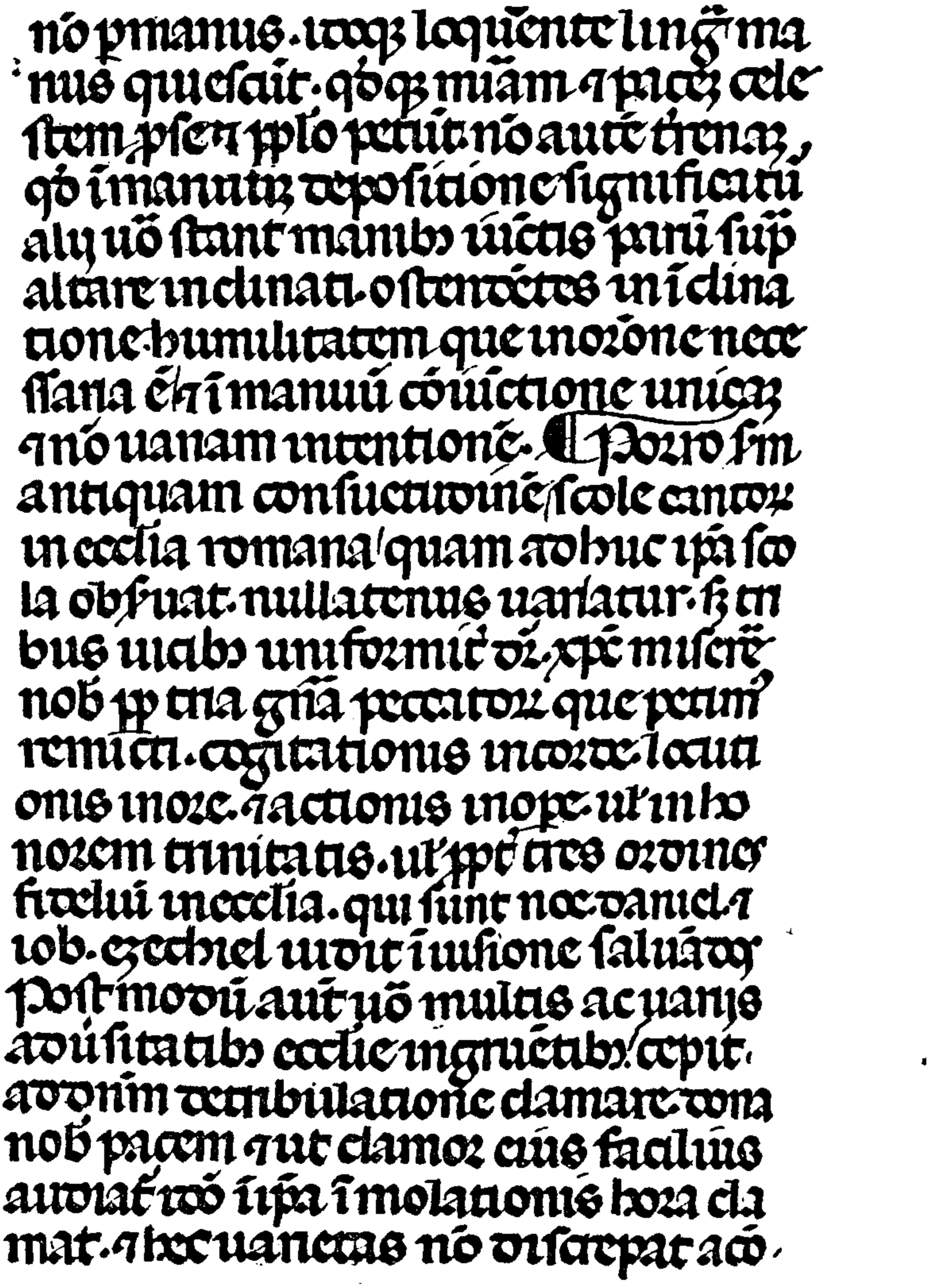
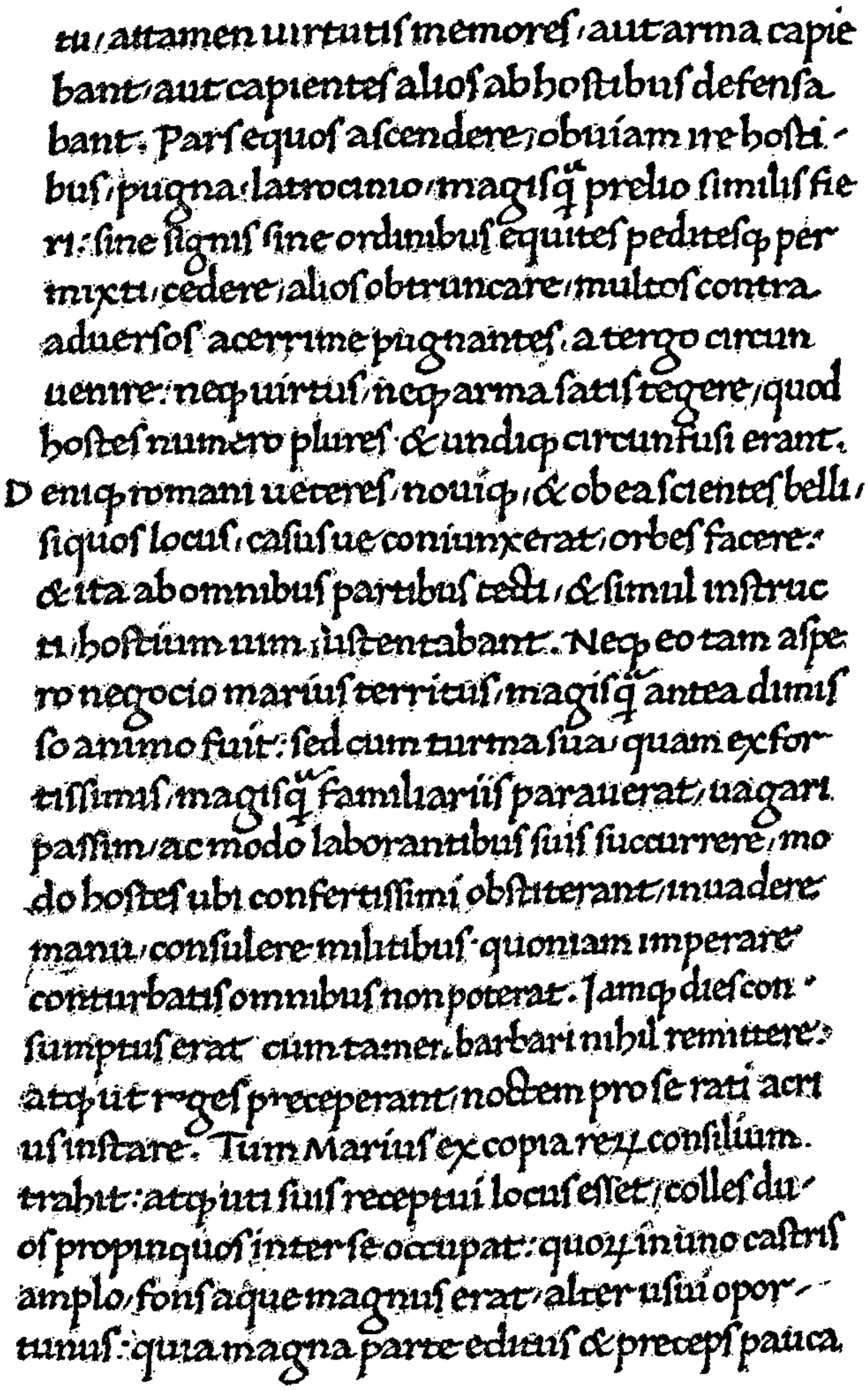


FIG. 11.—FROM A MS. OF DURANDUS, 'DE DIVINIS OFFICIIS,' WRITTEN IN ITALY. (FOURTEENTH CENTURY)

of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a style of remarkable roundness and of great elegance in the

shaping of the letters. We lay before the reader a specimen (fig. 11) of this later hand, representing a portion of one of the columns of the text of a manuscript of the work of Durandus 'De divinis officiis,' Additional MS. 31,032 in the British Museum, a volume written by a most skilful calligrapher in the early years of the fourteenth century. Every one who has studied Italian palæography knows how far-reaching was the influence of this style, and how it affected the handwriting of the manuscripts of Southern France and of Spain; and, in the ordinary course of things, it might have filled a large space in the history of printing. But, beautiful and serviceable as it was, it did not satisfy the fastidious taste of the professional scribes of the period of the Renaissance. When they come upon the scene, the course of Italian palæography is diverted into another channel. They went up the stream again and sought for a still purer type of hand in the upper waters. One example only must suffice to illustrate this new condition of things. Here is a facsimile (fig. 12) from a manuscript of Sallust, written at Florence by Gherardus Cerasius in the year 1466, now in the British Museum, Additional MS. 16,422. Who can doubt the model that has been followed? Turn to the facsimile from the twelfth century manuscript of Homilies (fig. 10) and compare Cerasius's handiwork with that writing; again compare it with the Caroline half-uncial writing of the school of Tours (fig. 6); and again compare it with the specimen of Roman half-uncial writing from Monte Cassino (fig. 4). The immediate model followed by the scribes of the Renaissance was that type of hand which we see in the Italian manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the original model was that noble hand of the sixth

century which we call the Roman half-uncial, a character which, for its simple beauty, might have been prophetically singled out as the one which



tu attamen uirtutis memores aut arma capie
bant aut capientes alios ab hostibus defensa
bant. Pars equos ascendere obuiam ne hosti-
bus pugna latrocinio magisq; prelio similis fie
ri: sine signis sine ordinibus equites pedites q; per
mixti cedere alios obtruncare multos contra
aduersos acerrime pugnantes a tergo circun
uenire: neq; uirtus neq; arma satis tegere quod
hostes numero plures & undiq; circunfusi erant.
Denique romani ueteres nouiq; & ob ea scientes belli
siquos locus casusue coniunxerat orbes facere:
& ita ab omnibus partibus tecti & simul instruc
ti hostium uim sustentabant. Neq; eo tam aspe
ro negocio marius territus magisq; antea dimis
so animo fuit: sed cum turma sua quam ex for-
tissimus magisq; familiaris parauerat uagari
passim ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere mo
do hostes ubi confertissimi obstiterant inuadere
manu consulere militibus quoniam imperare
conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Jamq; dies con-
sumptus erat cum tamen barbari nihil remittere:
atq; ut regis preceperant noctem pro se rati acri
us instare. Tum marius ex copia rei consilium
trahit: atq; uti suus receptui locus esset colles du-
os propinquos inter se occupat: quoy in uno castris
amplo fons aque magnus erat alter usui opor-
tunus: quia magna parte editus & preceps pauca

FIG. 12.—FROM A FLORENTINE MS. OF SALLUST, DATED 1466

was to fill the largest place in the bibliographical productions of succeeding ages.

XIII.

We may bring this article to a conclusion with a few illustrations, selected from the drawings and miniatures of illuminated manuscripts, which may convey an idea of the mechanical methods followed in the production of manuscripts and of the manner of their disposal for use in the library, without, however, attempting anything in the nature of a general description. None of our illustrations is of very early date; but there is extant in drawings in both Greek and Latin manuscripts, and particularly in copies of the Gospels, ranging from the eighth to the eleventh century, sufficient material to show that the methods of the mediæval scribe underwent very little change in the course of succeeding centuries. Every archæologist knows how conservative mankind has always shown itself in its domestic economy, and that, when once a tool, implement, or piece of household furniture has taken the shape which commends itself as the most handy and appropriate, generation may succeed generation, and century follow century, without an alteration being needed. In the representations of the Evangelists engaged in the composition of their respective Gospels, which usually form the subjects of the miniatures in the earlier manuscripts of that portion of the Scriptures, we see, for example, that the desk at which the writer is seated, however much out of drawing, and however impossible it may have been in actual practice to have written at all at such a distorted piece of furniture, is in its construction not very different from one or other of the desks employed in the fifteenth century. No change was needed. Experience had proved that the sloping desk was the most convenient, and, with the proper appliances for bringing it close to the writer, no improvement was required.

First, we select a sketch of an English library of the fifteenth century (fig. 13) from the English poem of the Pilgrim (British Museum, Cottonian MS., Tiberius A. vii.), wherein the books are ranged on desks set one behind the other, after the fashion of church-pews, reminding us of the manner in which, to the present day, the manuscripts of the Laurentian Library at Florence are disposed. The reader does not need to be told that in the Middle Ages books were never placed on end as they are on our modern

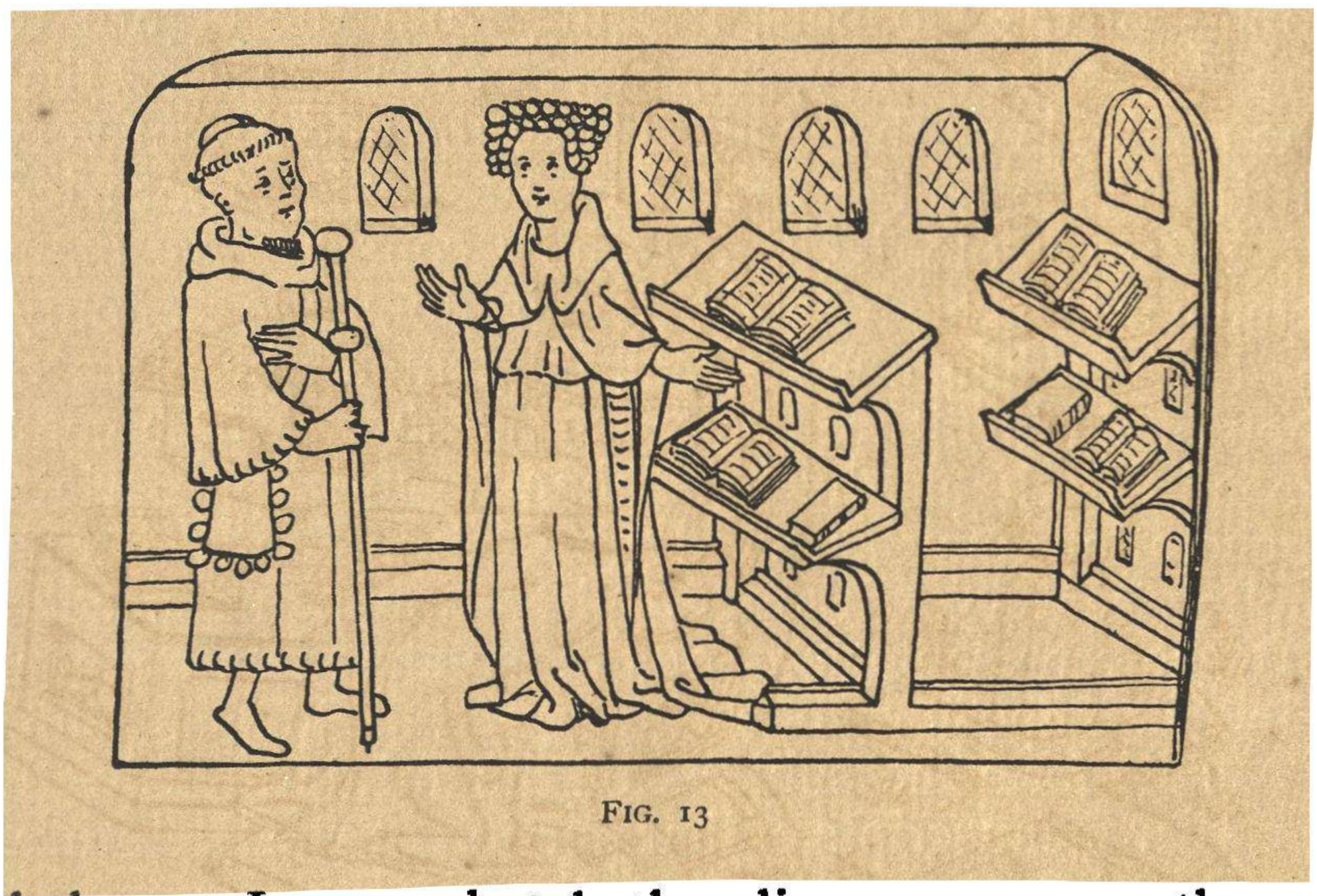


FIG. 13

shelves. In our sketch they lie, some open, others closed, on the slopes of the desks, and are being introduced to the notice of the Pilgrim by the lady Agyographe,

'Whiche is to seyne, I the ensure
Off holy wrytynge the scripture.'

Of course, we are not to suppose that a monastic library of that time consisted of only two book-presses. The poverty of imagination or the apathy of the artist must probably be charged with the

fault of so scantily furnishing Agyographe's book-room.

Miniatures also show other methods of fitting a library, as, for example, with a sloping shelf running round the walls, having cupboards beneath for the storage of volumes; or with standard double-fronted desks which could be shifted. And, besides these, a common piece of library-furniture was the standard reading-table or desk which could be placed close to the student's chair. Its form varied, but was usually that represented in fig. 14; the round table and the book-rest above it turning on the screw-threaded shaft and being thus raised or lowered at pleasure. A more elaborate construction is seen in fig. 15, the table and book-rest here being each fitted to a cranked shaft, whereby they can be brought close up

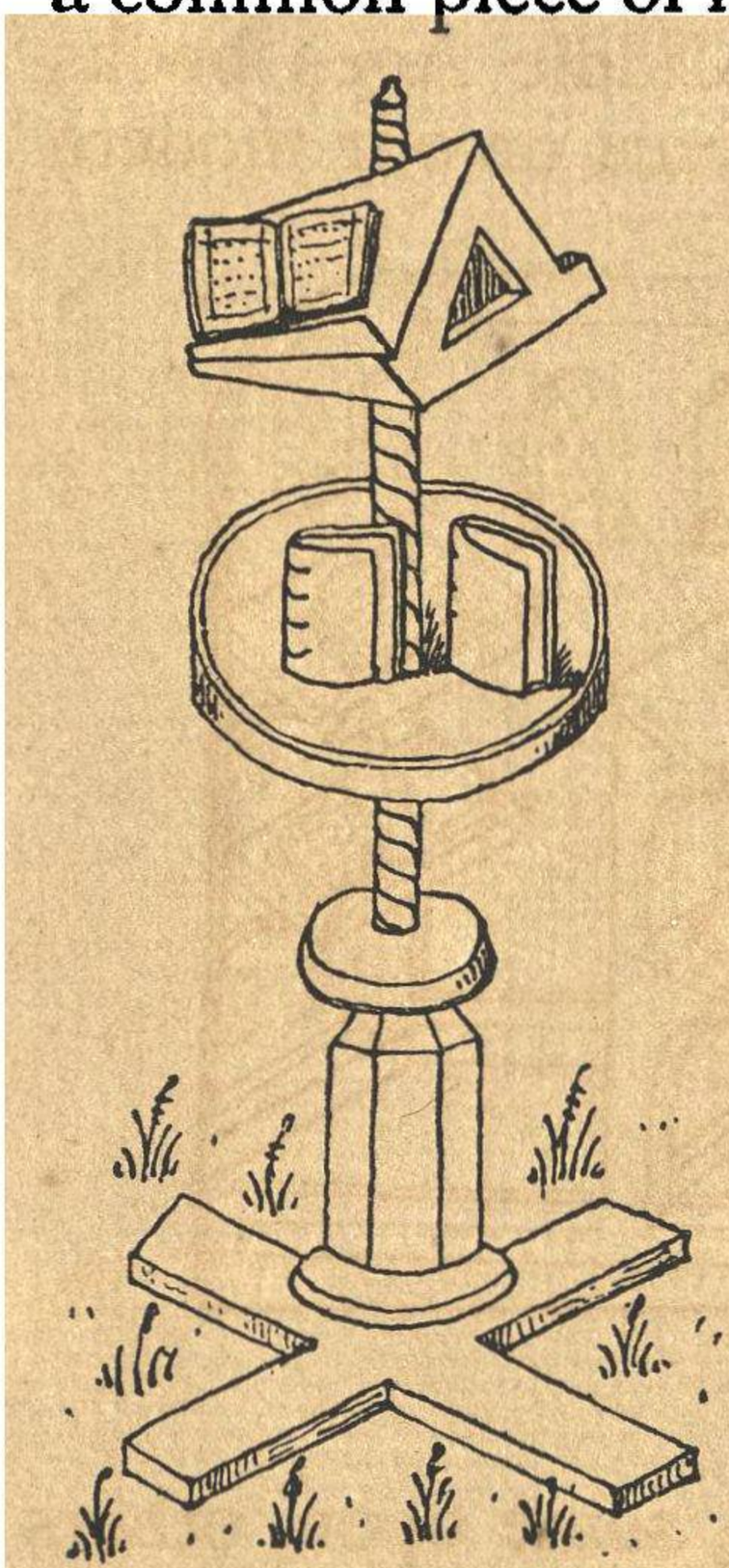


FIG. 14

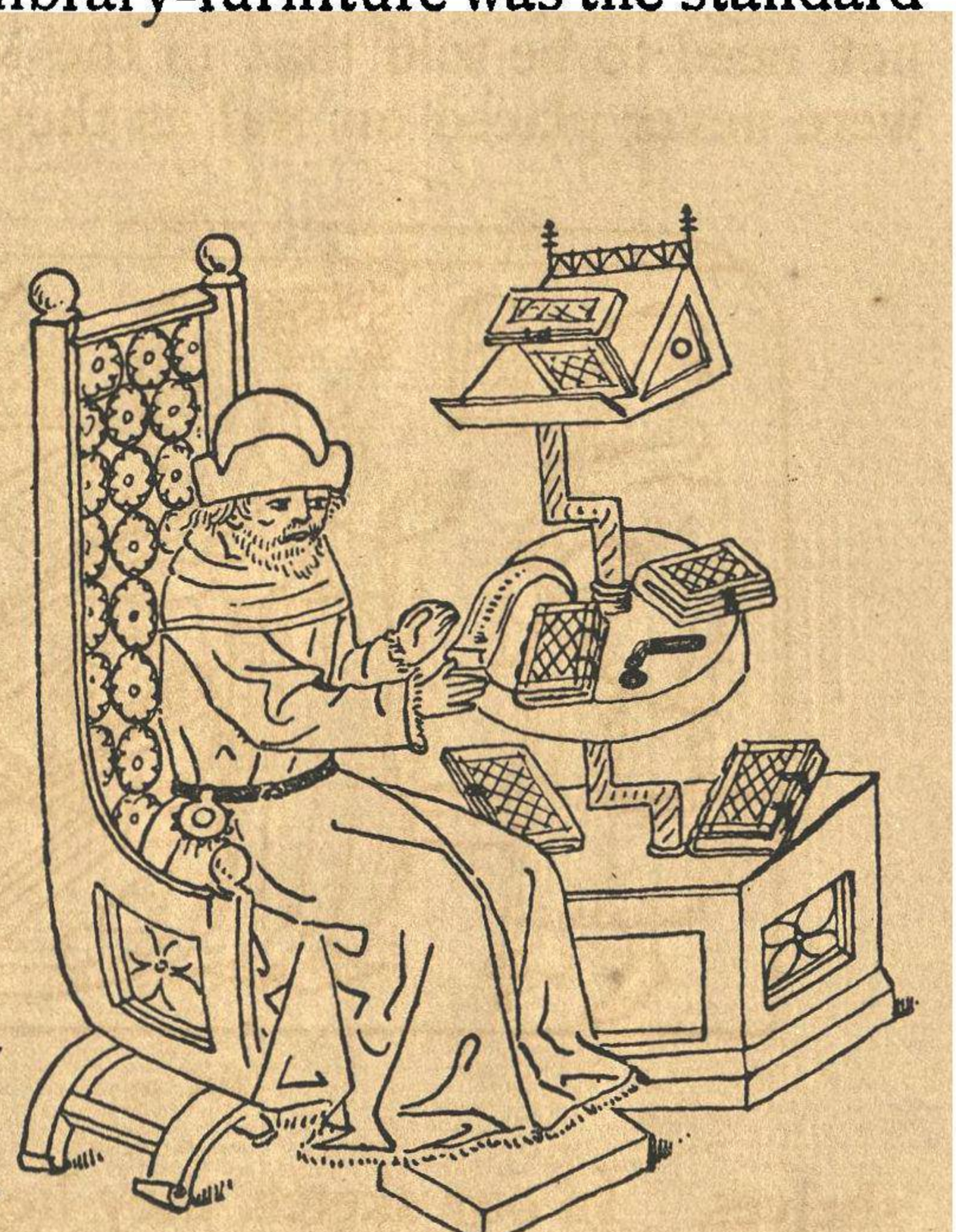


FIG. 15

to the reader or writer. The use of the crank is ancient, as appears from early miniatures.[1] These

FIG. 16

two examples are from French manuscripts of the fifteenth century.

The standard desk which has just been described

[1] See also two instances of a writing-desk working on a crank, in wood-cut initial letters reproduced in *Bibliographica*, vol. iii. pp. 234, 236.

De la cause de leuure emprinse.
Premier chapitre.

Pour ce que la multitude des liures et la briefuete du temps et la foiblesse du mēore ne seuffrent pas les choses qui sont escriptes estre comprinses ensemble en vng courage ce mest aduis a moy qui suis le moindre de tous mes freres en sciece. Et ce puis ie scauoir en moy mesmes qui ay veu leu et retourne plusieurs liures p moult long temps assiduelement et curieusement. Et neantmoins par le conseil daulcūs de mes pl^s souuerains et greigneurs aulcūes fle^s que iay esleues p mon petit engin. A bien pou de tous les liures de nre foy catholique ou des liures payens.

evidently might have been used by either reader or writer; but more specially contrived for the purposes of writing were the desks of different kinds which were actually attached to the chair in which the scribe sat. Such desks appear to have been generally fixed to the left arm of the chair and could be turned on a pivot into the required position; and in some instances the desk thus attached seems to have been a simple board which lay across the two arms of the chair. More elaborate writing-desks were, however, necessarily independent constructions, such as the one shown in fig. 16, copied from one of a fine series of drawings illustrating Mandeville's 'Travels' (Brit. Mus., Additional MS. 24,189) which were executed in the Low Countries early in the fifteenth century. Here Mandeville is seen writing his book at a desk which forms part of a press containing cupboards and fittings for holding books and writing implements.[1] It will be noticed that our author holds down with a knife, after the approved fashion, the leaf on which he is writing. In fig. 17 the scribe sits at work at a round table, which probably revolved, and makes use of a plain sloping writing-desk, and of a small independent book-rest to hold the text which he is copying. This cut is taken from a French manuscript of the latter part of the fifteenth century.

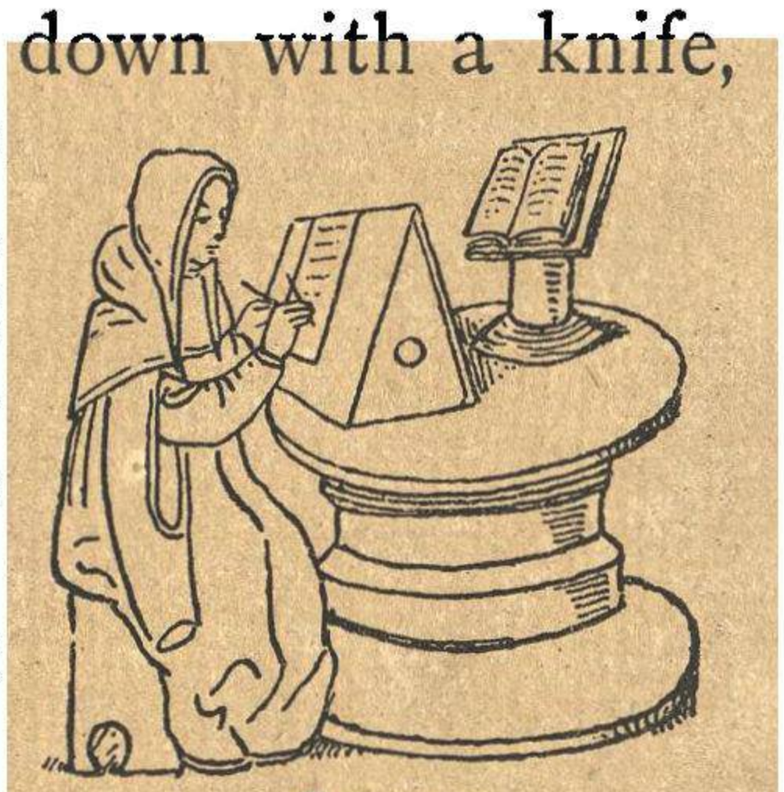


FIG. 17

We close with two full-page miniatures which are good illustrations of the late mediæval library.

[1] A still more elaborate desk is to be found in *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, printed by the Roxburghe Club, 1889. It is also given in *Books in Manuscript*, by F. Madan, 1893.

The first (Plate xiii.) is from a fine manuscript of the 'Cas des nobles Hommes et Femmes,' a translation from Boccaccio by Laurent de Premierfait, executed in the fifteenth century (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 14 E. v.). The scene represents the 'debat de maistre Francois Petrac, poete Florentin, et de Jehan Boccace, acteur de ce livre,' which forms the first chapter of the eighth book of the work. Properly, Jehan Boccace should be in bed; as it was in his sleep that he received the visit of his master, Petrarch. For our purpose, however, it is as well that the interview here takes place in Boccaccio's study. In the foreground is a very good specimen of a revolving desk, which works on a screw-threaded shaft; and in the background we have a panelled book-press, protected by curtains, and fitted with a sloping shelf on which books lie ready for reference, and with an open cupboard below where other volumes are piled. The motto, 'Josne et ioyeulx,' written on the wall, may be that of the painter or, more probably, of the owner of the volume.

The second miniature (Plate xiv.) forms the frontispiece of a copy of the 'Miroir Historial' of Jehan du Vignay, executed at Bruges for Henry the Seventh, whose arms, with the parti-coloured red-and-white rose, are painted in the border (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 14 E. i.). The author is here writing at a desk fitted on a cranked pivot which enables him to draw it well over his knees. His magnifying glass stands on an adjacent table. The walls of the room are fitted up with sloping shelves, the protecting curtains of which, half-drawn, disclose that they are well filled with handsome volumes. Du Vignay's collection is a better one than that of Jehan Boccace.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

NOTES ON THE THOMASON COLLECTION OF CIVIL WAR TRACTS

IT is well known that from the point of view of bibliography the literature of the Civil War in England is practically an untouched field. Just as Panzer first pushed forward beyond the bounds of the fifteenth century, pioneering as far as 1536, so both Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Register* and the British Museum *Catalogue of Early English Books* have in later times led the way beyond the sixteenth century; but each has stopped, as if by common consent, at the year 1640, when the Civil War literature may be said to begin. At that date not only did the output of separate small quarto pieces prodigiously exceed anything known in England before, but the machinery for registration, as represented by the Stationers' Company, was subjected to an exceptional strain, as well from the increase of production as from the utter break-up of order and progress during the Civil War and, to some extent, during the Commonwealth. Add to this the development of local and even travelling presses, and the fact that Oxford and not London was the centre from which the Royalist literature spread, and the difficulty of the position will be seen. In fact, the only hope of dealing satisfactorily with the whole disturbed period of twenty-two years lay in the appearance of some person who should see the importance of the task, should arrange a

uniform system in London of catching each little treatise as it was hawked about the streets or sold over (or under) the counter, should be successful in interesting his Royalist friends in the pursuit of the pamphlets on the king's side, should be able to keep his collection safe, and, above all, should be sagacious enough to take a note of the date on which each piece came into his net. This task could not possibly be accomplished unless our ideal collector were himself a publisher, able to arrange in a special way with other publishers for the continuous supply of the endless little Mercuriuses and other periodicals which appeared, and unless he were possessed either of substantial means, or sufficient credit, to enable him to purchase whatever he required.

All these theoretical conditions were actually fulfilled by George Thomason, the sole collector and owner of the pamphlets which it is the purpose of this article to describe. His achievement is unparalleled in its kind, and it does not speak well for bibliography in England that his name is so little known. This man set himself deliberately to acquire every printed piece issued between the middle of 1640 and the middle of 1661, and nothing was too small, or printed too far from London, to engage his attention. The only discoverable point in which he may seem to have fallen short of our modern standard is that if a local piece, printed, say, at Cork, or Bristol, or York, were reprinted (as was often the case) in London, he was content to take the reprint instead of the original. In every other respect he worked with most admirable method, using to the full the only intelligible system of dealing with such a period, namely, strict chronological arrangement,

and crowning all his exploits by causing to be made under his eye a full catalogue of what he had put together.

FACTS OF THOMASON'S LIFE

Few facts appear to be known of the life of George Thomason, apart from the formation of his great Collection. From Arber's *Transcript* we find that he took up his freedom as a member of the Stationers' Company on June 5, 1626 (*Arber*, iii. 686), which implies that he was then a printer or publisher at least twenty-four years old, *i.e.* born not later than June 1602. His first registered publication was on November 1, 1627, in conjunction with James Bowler and Robert Young (*ibid.* iv. 31, 188, 419), but in his five subsequently registered books, $163\frac{5}{6}$–$163\frac{8}{9}$ (*ibid.* iv. 354, 418, 451, 461), he is associated with Octavian Pullen, a connection continued till at least 1643, when they both lived at the sign of the Rose in St. Paul's Churchyard. Thomason by himself published till as late as 1660, living from at least 1647 till then at the Rose and Crown, in the same Churchyard (see Gray's *Index to Hazlitt's Collections*, Thomason's *Catalogue of his General Stock*, 1647). There is no direct evidence of Thomason's personal means, but his death is thus recorded in the *Obituary of Rich. Smyth* (Camden Society, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, first series, vi. 175): 'April 10·1666·Geo. Thomasin, bookseller, buried out of Stationers Hall (*a poore man*).' His will is at Somerset House. The George Thomason who matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1655, and was Canon of Lincoln 1683-1712, is stated to have been his eldest son (*Notes and Queries*, second series, iv. 414). Almost

the only other fact recorded about the Collector is that, in 1648, the House of Commons paid him £500 and thanks for a collection of Eastern books, which that House seems to have bestowed on the University of Cambridge (*Journals of the House of Commons*, March 24, 164$\frac{7}{8}$, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, second series, xi. 424). It is evident that throughout the Civil War and Commonwealth he was a Royalist, a circumstance which must have added to his difficulties, and made secrecy in his dealings doubly necessary. It was in his favour, however, that he had business relations with the Bodleian from 1640 to 1650 at least, so that his friends in Oxford may have helped him to acquire the Royalist tracts printed there.[1]

FORMATION AND HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

The primary documents on this subject are two accounts, both apparently preliminary to a sale of the Tracts. The first is a printed broadside (copies of which are in the British Museum and Bodleian), probably issued in about 1680, which is reprinted in Beloe's *Anecdotes*, vol. ii. p. 248, and is here reproduced in full from the original broadside:—

[1] The *Calendars of State Papers* add a few particulars to those given above. In 1644 a George Thomason was associated by the Committee of both Kingdoms with one Samuel Avery for the receipt of certain arms, ammunition, and other provisions formerly provided for the army in Ireland; but this may be a different man. Under date Jan. 31, 164$\frac{5}{6}$, we learn that George Thomerson [*sic*] had bought up the whole impression of a pamphlet called *Truth's Manifest*, which the Committee apparently considered libellous. The Record of the Proceedings of the Committee on Compounding tells us that Thomason had great difficulty in getting his money for the Oriental books bought for Cambridge. March 28, 1648, the £500 was ordered to be paid from the arrears of the two four months' assessments for the Scots army before Newark; on Sept. 25 it was charged on the composition of Colonel Humphrey Matthews, and on Nov. 16, Thomason, being still unpaid, was consoled by interest at the rate of eight per cent. For Thomason's seven weeks' imprisonment, see *infra*, p. 298 and note.—[ED. *Bibliographica.*]

A Complete Collection of Books and Pamphlets Begun in the Year 1640, *by the Special Command of King Charles I. of Blessed Memory, and continued to the happy Restauration of the Government, and the Coronation of King Charles II.*

'There hath been very much Mony disbursed, and great Pains taken, and many Hazards run in making an exact Collection of all the Pamphlets that were publish'd from the Beginning of that Long and Rebel-Parliament, which began Novemb. 1640 till His late Majesties Happy Restauration and Coronation, consisting of near Thirty Thousand several Sorts, and by all Parties.

'They may be of very great Use to any Gentleman concerned in Publick Affairs, both for this Present, and After-Ages, there being not the like in the World, neither is it possible to make such a Collection.

'The Collection contains above Two Thousand bound Volumes all of them uniformly bound, as if they were done at one Time, and all exactly Marked and Numbred.

'The Method that has been observed, is Time, and such punctual Care was taken, that the very Day is written upon most of them, when they came out.

'The Catalogue of them fairly written is in Twelve Volumes in Folio; and though the Number of them be so great (when the Books are set in their Order according to the Mark set upon each of them) the smallest Piece, though but one Sheet of Paper, being shewn in the Catalogue, may be found in a moment; which Method is of singular use to the Reader.

'In the whole are contain'd near one Hundred several MS. Pieces that were never printed, all, or most of them on the King's behalf, which no man durst then venture to publish without endangering his Ruine. But the Peruser now may by them be let into the Knowledge of many Occurences in those Times, which have pass'd hitherto unobserv'd.

'This Collection was so privately carried on, that it was never known, that there was such a Design in hand; the Collector designing them only for His Majesties Use that then was. His Majesty having occasion for a Pamphlet, could nowhere compass the Sight of it but from him, which His Majesty having perused, was very well pleas'd with the Design, and commanded a Person of Honour to restore it with his own Hands, and withal express'd His desire of having the Collection continued; *This* was the great Encouragement to the Undertaker, *who* had otherwise desisted prosecuting so *difficult and* chargeable a Work, which lay a heavy *Burden* upon himself and his Servants for above *Twenty* Years.

'To prevent the Discovery of them, when the Army was Northwards, he pack'd them up in several Trunks, and by one or two in a Week sent them to a trusty Friend in Surry, who safely preserv'd them; and when the Army was Westward, and fearing their Return that way; they were sent to London again; but the Collector durst not keep them, but sent them into Essex, and so according as they lay near Danger, still, by timely removing them, at a great Charge, secur'd them, but continu'd perfecting the Work.

'And for a farther Security to them, there was a Bargain pretended to be made with the University of Oxford, and a Receipt of a Thousand Pounds given and acknowledg'd to be in part for them, that

if the Usurper had found them out, the University should claim them, who had greater Power to struggle for them than a private Man.

'All these Shifts have been made, and Difficulties encounter'd to keep the Collection from being embezel'd and destroy'd; which with the great Charges of collecting and binding them, cost the Undertaker so much, that he refused Four Thousand Pounds for them in his Life time, supposing that Sum not sufficient to re-imburse him.'

The second account is a longer one in manuscript, at one time prefixed to the Thomason Catalogue, and printed in full in *Notes and Queries*, second series, iv. 413; but it adds very little to the other, except in two points, the fate of the collection during the war, and its long sojourn in Oxford (the following transcript is from the printed text in *Notes and Queries*):—

[Without His Majesty's encouragement, Thomason],' thinks he should never have been induced to have gone on through so difficult a work, which he found by experience to prove so chargeable and heavy a burden, both to himself and his servants that were employed in that business, which continued above the space of twenty years, in which time he buried three of them, who took great pains both day and night with him in that tedious employment.

'And that he might prevent the discovery of them when the army was northward, he packed them up in several trunks, and by one or two in a week he sent them to a trusty friend in Surrey, who safely preserved them, but when the army was westward, and fearing their return that way, he was faigne to have them sent back againe, and thence safely received them, but durst not keep them by

him, the danger being so great; but packed them up again, and sent them into Essex: and when the army ranged that way to Tripleheath, was faigne to send for them back from thence, and not thinking them safe anywhere in England, at last took a resolution to send them into Holland for their more safe preservation. But considering with himself what a treasure it was, upon second thought, he durst not venture them at sea, but resolved to place them in his warehouses in form of tables round about the rooms covered over with canvas, continuing still without any intermission his going on; nay, even then, when by the Usurper's power and command he was taken out of his bed, and clapt up close prisoner at Whitehall for seven weeks'[1] space and above, he still hoping and looking for that day, which, thanks be to God, is now come, and there he put a period to that unparallelled labour, charge, and pains, he had been at.

'Oxford Library Keeper (that then was[2]) was in hand with them, about them a long time, and did hope the Publick Library might compass them;

[1] The following entries in the *Calendar of State Papers* from the proceedings of the Council of State for 1651 refer to this imprisonment:—

'27 May. Mr. Thomason to be bailed, on bond in £1000 with two sureties in £500 each, on the usual terms, after taking his oath as to the truth of the examinations that have been taken.

'14 June. Declaration that Council having taken security of Geo. Thomason, of London, stationer, for his appearance and good abearance, think fit that he be in the same condition as he was at the time of their order for securing his estate, and that he be permitted to enjoy the same, any letter from hence notwithstanding, and that intimation hereof be given to the Commissioners for Sequestration.'

The entries of the Committee for Compounding are:—

'11 April 1651. The County Committee of London ordered to seize, inventory, and secure Thomason's estate, both real and personal.

'2 June. The Council of State having taking security for his appearance and good behaviour, request the Committee for Compounding to take off its restraint formerly ordered.

'3 June. The restraint taken off, and the bond taken by the County Committee to be delivered to him.'—[ED. *Bibliographica.*]

[2] 1620-52, John Rous; 1652-60, Thomas Barlow; 1660-65, Thomas Lockey; 1665-1701, Thomas Hyde.

but that could not be then effected, it rising to so great a sum as had been expended on them for so long a time together.'

After these documents we may quote the following note in Thomason's hand in small quarto vol. 100 (once E. 95, now C. 21 b. 1), which, besides its own picturesque interest, illustrates not only the extreme jealousy with which he guarded his collection, but his relations with the King's Party and the fact that the existence of his collection was no secret. The tracts in the volume are dated early in April 1643, and consist of 'The Reasons of the Lords and Commons in Parliament why they cannot agree to the Alterations and Additions in the Articles of Cessation offered by His Majesty,' and thirteen other pieces.

'Memorandum that Col. Will. Legg and Mr. Arthur Treavor were employed by his Mātie K. Charles to gett for his present use, a pamphlet which his Mātie had then occasion to make use of, and not meeting with it, they both came to me, having heard that I did employ my selfe to take up all such things, from the beginning of that Parlement, and finding it with me, tould me it was for the King's owne use, I tould them all I had were at his Māties command and service, and withall tould them if I should part with it and loose it, presuming that when his Mātie had done with it, that little account would be made of it, and so I should loose by that losse a limbe of my collection, which I should be very loth to do, well knowing it would be impossible to supplie it if it should happen to be lost, with which answer they returned to his Mātie at Hampton Court (as I take it) and tould him they had found that peece he so much desired and withall how loath he that had

it, was to part with it, he much fearing its losse; whereuppon they were both sent to me againe by his Mātie to tell me that upon the worde of a Kinge (to use their own expressions) he would safely returne it, thereuppon immediately by them I sent it to his Mātie, who having done with it, and having it with him when he was going towards the Isle of Wight, let it fall in the durt, and then callinge for the two persons before mentioned (who attended him) delivered it to them, with a charge, as they would answer it another day, that they should both speedily and safely return it to him, from whom they had received it, and withall to desire the partie to goe on and continue what had begun, which book together, with hiš Mātis signification to me by these worthy and faithfull gentl[n] I received both speedily and safely.

'Which volume hath the marke of honor upon it, which noe other volume in my collection hath, and very diligently and carefully I continued the same, until the most hapie restoration and coronation of his most gratious mātie Kinge Charles the second whom God long preserve.

GEORGE THOMASON.'

Our next document is a letter from the newly-appointed Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Thomas Barlow, Bodley's librarian from 1652 to 1660, addressed to the Rev. George Thomason, son of the bookseller, the original of which is in the British Museum:—

OXON, *Feb.* 6, 1676.

'MY GOOD FRIEND,—I am about to leave Oxford, (my dear mother,) and that excellent and costly collection of bookes which have so long beene in my handes: now I entreat you, either to remove them,

or speake to my successor that they may continue there till you can otherwise conveniently dispose of them. Had I money to my minde, I would be your chapman for them, but your Collection is soe great and my purse soe little, that I cannot compass it. It is such a Collection (both for the vast number of bookes, and the exact method they are bound in,) as none has, nor possibly can have, besides yourselfe. The use of that Collection myght be of exceedinge benefitt to the publique (both church and state) were it placed in some safe repository where learned and sober men might have accesse to, and the use of it. The fittest place for it (both for use and honor) is the King's, Sr. Tho. Bodley's, or some publique library, for in such places it might be most safe and usefull. I have long endeavoured to find benefactors, and a way to procure it for Bodley's library, and I doe not despaire but such a way may be found in good time by

Your affectionate friend,

THOMAS LINCOLNE.'

In explanation of this letter we may note that after Thomason's death in 1666 a special trust had been appointed under his will to take charge of the Tracts, and of the trustees Dr. Thomas Barlow was one (*Notes and Queries*, second series, xi. 423). Apparently they were placed in Barlow's charge at Oxford until 1676, when the Rev. George Thomason seems to have resumed them. We next hear of them as having been purchased by the king's command by Samuel Mearne, his Majesty's stationer, for on May 15, 1684, the Privy Council considered and granted a petition from Anne Mearne, relict of Samuel, that she might dispose of them by sale (Beloe's *Anecdotes*, ii. 253; *Notes and Queries*, second series, iv. 414).

Next, in about 1745, they are found in the possession of Mr. Henry Sisson, druggist on Ludgate Hill or Street, and Gough was informed that he was a descendant of Thomason (Gough's *Brit. Top.*, second edition, i. 699 *n*), and it may have been to him that the Duke of Chandos (*d.* 1744) made an offer of about £200–£300 (Oldys in *Notes and Queries*, second series, xi. 424). At last, in October 1761, a Mr. Kent brought the value of the collection before that great patron of learning Thomas Hollis, and by his efforts the king was induced to sanction the purchase of the tracts for the paltry sum of £300 from Miss Sisson, by the Earl of Bute, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and eventually to make the purchase his own and to present the whole collection to the British Museum (*Memoirs of Hollis*, i. 121, 192; ii. 717). It was received at its final place of deposit in 1762, and was for long known popularly as the 'King's Pamphlets,' though it is now more often, and far more justly, referred to as the 'Thomason Collection.'

STATISTICS OF THE COLLECTION

The common estimate of the size of the collection—which, it should be remembered, includes not only Civil War and Commonwealth tracts, but also a large proportion of the general English literature of the period—has always been about 30,000 printed tracts and 100 manuscript pieces on the king's side, which the London publishers did not dare to print, contained in over 2000 volumes. Edwards, after a personal examination of the entire collection, raised the figures to 'perhaps from 33,000 to 34,000 separate publications' in 2220 volumes (*Memoirs of Libraries*, i. 457). The

present writer has looked at every title-page in the different sections of the collection up to and including March 1649, and has compiled statistics of the whole from the elaborate catalogue in twelve volumes, drawn up by Marmaduke Foster within Thomason's life-time, and corrected and annotated by the latter.

The tracts are divided and bound in five sections —small quarto (Catalogue; vols. A–H), 882 volumes; large quarto (I), 147 volumes; octavo (K), 905 volumes; folio sheets (L), 24 volumes; and folio acts (M), 25 volumes. Within each division the arrangement is, with few exceptions, strictly chronological, according to the precise date placed by Thomason on every title-page which needed one. The original order of the volumes has been disturbed, but the collection may be roughly said to be still kept together. Thomason prefixes to vol. A of the Catalogue the following quotation from Richard Knolles's *History of the Turks*: 'Actions that may be presidents to Posteritie ought to have their Recorde: And doe merit a most carefull preservation,' and usually ends a division with *Vive le Roy*.

The following statistics are as near the truth as can be reached without a prolonged study of details, and deal strictly with separate pieces, parts of periodicals, etc., so that, for instance, Husbands' well-known *Collection* of reprints, which Thomason counted as 409 pieces, is here reckoned as but one. The historical year (January 1–December 31) is here strictly adhered to. Numbers in brackets are *additional manuscript* pieces.

THE THOMASON COLLECTION

SUMMARY OF STATISTICS

(*November* 1640-*beginning of May* 1661)

DATE.	Books, etc. registered at Stationers' Hall. (See Masson's *Milton*, vi. 323-24.)	Thomason Tracts.
1640		361 (+1)
1641	240	891 (+2)
1642	76	1643
1643	368	1576 (+1)
1644	447	1399 (+4)
1645	652	1399 (+6)
1646	526	1280 (+1)
1647	between 150 and 300 each year.	1451 (+5)
1648		1959 (+13)
1649		1478 (+8)
1650		826 (+5)
1651		758
1652		993 (+1)
1653		1072 (+8)
1654	181	1076 (+3)
1655	357	831 (+5)
1656	562	519 (+4)
1657	384	443 (+2)
1658	327	400 (+1)
1659	247	955
1660	258	1151 (+2)
1661	108	300 (+1)
	Say, 6300	22761 (+73)
		(now contained in about 1983 volumes.)

* Masson gives the total number registered from 1636 to 1640 as 259.

The number of separate pieces, then, appears to be 22,761 - in print and 73 in manuscript—in all 22,834. The reasons of the variations in output

must be left for a historian to discuss,[1] but it is pertinent to inquire what deficiencies exist in the Thomason Collection, so that we may form some general estimate of the entire literature. There is no doubt that Thomason failed to acquire (1) some locally printed pieces; (2) many minor Oxford tracts. We have already noted that he seems to have been content with London reprints (see p. 292), and for the latter one feels more surprise that so many penetrated the hostile lines and found their way to London, than that some did not. A careful consideration leads one to suppose that the general issue of publications in England from the close of 1640 to the middle of 1661 did not fall short of 25,000. No doubt the British Museum has from other sources considerably supplemented the Thomason tracts, and even largely supplied the hundred or so pieces lost from the original set.[2]

Two minor points may be noticed separately:

(*a*) *Thomason's System of Dating*

From July 1642 to the end, Thomason writes the month and day on every title-page which does not bear its own day of issue printed on it, and he generally also tries to assign a placeless piece to its proper place of printing. These features add immensely to the bibliographical value of his work,

[1] Mr. C. H. Firth, besides other help, has pointed out that these variations are primarily due, not to political reasons, but to the various regulations of printing. Thus the influence may be at once seen of Bradshaw's Press Act of September 20, 1649, and of the ordinance against scandalous books of August 18, 1655 (see Masson's *Milton*, iv. 116, v. 259; and Bigmore's *Bibliography of Printing*, *sub voce* Parliamentary Papers). In 1658 these restrictions were practically taken off.

[2] The following volumes appear to be lost, and it is only surprising that the collection is still so nearly intact:—*Small Quartos*, No. 87 (16-21 Dec. 1643), 123 (26 Aug.–7 Sept. 1643), 815 (end of 1659); *Octavos*, Nos. 281, 283, possibly others; *Folio Acts*, No. 12. The list in Beloe's *Anecdotes* (1807), ii. 254-256, seems to be based on some mistake.

and show his methodical and sagacious mind. But the question arises, whether the supplied date is that on which Thomason supposed the piece to be published, or the date on which it reached him; and this is a point of some importance. After observation of several thousands of instances, it is on the whole clear that Thomason generally wrote down the day on which he *received* the tract, which, in the case of London books, was seldom more than a day or two after publication, but that when he knew the actual date of issue he did in those comparatively few cases prefer to enter that. Among crucial examples are these: he dates two copies of the same piece on different days, because he received them at different times (see E. 414, No. 5, E. 419, No. 19); he dates an Oxford piece as 'at London, 22 Aprill' (E. 247, No. 29); he places a manuscript date on a title which bears the same date in print, showing that he received it on the day of publication (E. 536, No. 15). That when he knew the day of printing or issue he by preference noted that, is clear from E. 239, No. 13; *E.* 240, No. 26; E. 86, No. 33, and others. Unfortunately he has a tendency to place sermons under the date of delivery, but this does not affect many entries.

(*b*) *The Double Year-dates between January* 1 *and March* 24

* It is generally known that for many centuries the historical year differed in its date of commencement (January 1) from the ecclesiastical, civil, and legal year (March 25). In England, from the fourteenth century at least, until 1752 inclusive, a date between January 1 and March 24 might be said to belong to either of two different years, and the only

safe way to refer explicitly to such dates is by giving a double date, such as January 30, $164\frac{8}{9}$ (the day of Charles I.'s death), by which we mean what we now term (using the historical year) January 30, 1649. It is this ambiguity which causes many editions of the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική* to have 1648 on their title-pages. In dealing with separate letters or state papers the question is sometimes critical, and while it is generally safe to assume that in such documents the year is taken as beginning on March 25, it is certainly very desirable, where possible, to have statistics on the point.

Now Thomason's collection obviously does afford such an opportunity; for since he placed all his pieces in strict chronological order, it is possible to take in each year the part belonging to the dubious period and observe whether the historical or legal year is printed on the title-page. Let us take the small quartos of $164\frac{5}{6}$, $164\frac{6}{7}$, $164\frac{7}{8}$, and $164\frac{8}{9}$, premising that Thomason himself emphatically regarded the year as commencing on March 25.

$164\frac{5}{6}$		$164\frac{6}{7}$		$164\frac{7}{8}$		$164\frac{8}{9}$	
imprints		*imprints*		*imprints*		*imprints*	
1645	70	1646	28	1647	42	1648	68
1646	79	1647	93	1648	128	1649	98

This result is surprising and at first sight confusing, because it tends to show that most people used the true historical year, and that the general rule stated above is misleading, while on the other hand every student of the period knows that it is as a fact a much safer rule than these statistics would indicate. But on closer investigation the apparent contradiction almost disappears. When the *kind* of publication which bears these dates is

noticed, it is found that there are two distinct classes, and that while nearly all the official publications and the learned or theological works bear the earlier or legal date, the popular, ordinary, people's literature is dated by the historical year. Thus Edward Husbands, the official printer to the House of Commons, invariably uses the legal year in his numerous issues, as do Thomason and other considerable publishers; but the catch-penny street pieces, and such as have for obvious reasons no place of printing on them, use the other. This is especially interesting, as showing that in this case the common people had a truer instinct on the point than their social superiors. The fact then appears to be that for literary correspondence, learned books, and official papers the legal year holds its predominance, and that the lower one descends in the social scale, the more the historical year beginning on January 1 is in vogue. It may be added that the Periodicals (which have been excluded from the above calculation) are very equally divided, and that no doubt a certain small deduction should be made from the popular side (and an addition to the other) in consequence of the tendency to put the coming date on any publication issued towards the close of the year, but not more than ten in any year appear to be liable to this correction, if we may judge from the number dated (for instance) '1647' in September–December 1646.

The service done by Thomason by his dating these dubious tracts, as well as the many which bear no printed date at all, is immense, and indeed the minor fluctuations of popular opinion during the War and Commonwealth can only be satisfactorily traced by the clue which he affords.

F. MADAN.

ENGLISH ARMORIAL BOOK-STAMPS AND THEIR OWNERS

THE number of volumes bearing the arms of English collectors of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries is not large, although it is more considerable than is generally supposed. There are two causes which account for this comparative scarcity. One is the fact that the collectors themselves were not very numerous; the other, that the books were principally bound in calf, a leather which did not usually commend itself to their later possessors, who stripped off the old coverings and attired them afresh in more handsome habiliments of morocco. Not many heraldic bindings, if we except the unique collection of royal ones, are to be found in our national library. As it has not been generally the practice of that institution to purchase duplicates for the sake of the decoration of the covers, these regal books have no doubt prevented many a volume stamped with the arms of its original owner finding a place on the Museum's forty miles of book-shelves.

The libraries of our two great universities are richer, and the covers of numerous handsome volumes presented by loving sons to their Alma Mater are impressed with the arms or devices of the donors. Among the books of the smaller public libraries and private collections not a few embellished with heraldic ornamentations are also to be found, many of them of considerable beauty and interest.

Bindings bearing the arms of private collectors

appear to have first been executed in England during the reign of Elizabeth; but it is possible

that HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL, may have placed his device of the White Horse with an oak branch in its mouth upon his books as early as the reign of her predecessor. This nobleman, availing himself of the opportunities which the recent dissolution of the monasteries so abundantly presented, formed a very fine library at Nonsuch, which is described in a biography of him written shortly after his death, as 'righte worthye of remembrance.' It comprised many volumes which had formerly belonged to Archbishop Cranmer. Lord Arundel bequeathed his library to his son-in-law, Lord Lumley, at whose death the majority of the books it contained were purchased by Henry, Prince of Wales, who had them all rebound, so that if any of the bindings bore the Arundel arms they must have been destroyed by this unfortunate act. None with the arms of the Earl are known now to exist, and but few are to be found with his device.

Most of the illustrious statesmen who made the reign of Elizabeth so famous, following the example set by Grolier, De Thou, and other collectors of note on the Continent, formed libraries of choice books, on the bindings of which they stamped their arms or devices. In addition to these were several persons who occupied a less prominent position, like Thomas Wotton, frequently styled the English Grolier, on account of the liberal motto, which, like that great collector, he placed on his books. It is, however, on bindings from the libraries of that group of eminent antiquaries who flourished during

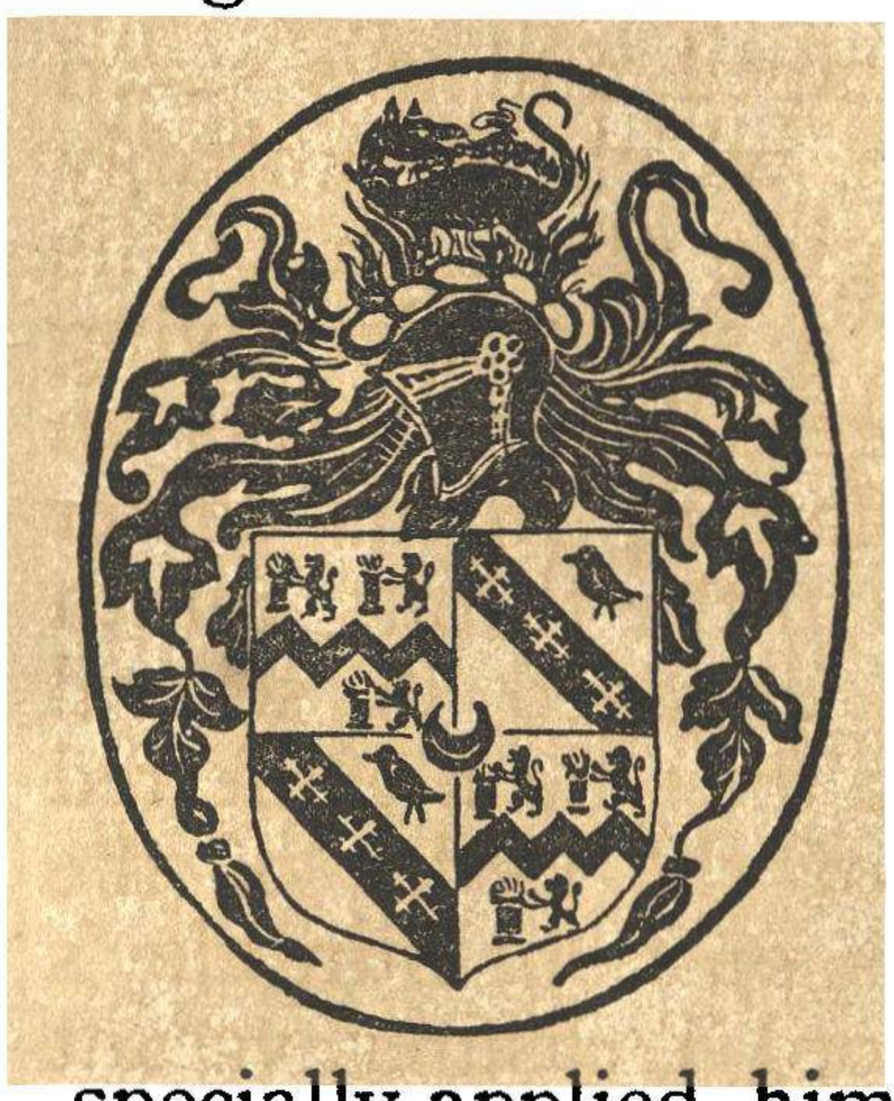
the reigns of Elizabeth and her immediate successors that we find the most abundant results from our researches. Later we come across the arms of renowned collectors, many of whose libraries still exist, or form important portions of the treasures preserved in the British Museum.

Although it is impossible in a magazine article to give anything approaching a full record of the arms found on English bindings, still it is believed that representations of a few of them, together with some account of the persons to whom they belonged, will not be without interest and value. To save space, the arms of royal collectors and others which are well known or easily accessible, such as the arms of the great archiepiscopal and episcopal collectors, like Parker, Laud, Moore, Williams, and others, will be omitted from our survey.

Among the first of the collectors, both in time and fame, upon whose books are stamped the arms of their owners are the distinguished statesmen SIR THOMAS SMITH and WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY. The careers of these eminent men are curiously similar. Born within a few years of each other, they became Secretaries of State in the same year, 1548, and were both under a cloud while Mary was on the throne. During the reign of Elizabeth they occupied positions of the highest importance in the State, and both died of the same disease, worn out in the service of their Queen and country.

Sir Thomas Smith, who was Secretary of State to King Edward VI., and afterwards to Queen Elizabeth, was born at Walden, in Essex, in the year 1512. He was the son of John Smith of Walden and Agnes Charnock, a member of an old Lancashire family. In 1526 he was sent to Queens'

College, Cambridge, where he so greatly distinguished himself that Henry VIII. chose him and



John Cheke, afterwards tutor to Prince Edward, to be his scholars, and allotted them salaries for the encouragement of their studies. Cheke makes mention of this honour in an epistle to the King prefixed to his edition of Chrysostom's *Two Homilies*: 'Cooptasti me et Thomam Smithum, socium atque æqualem meum, in scholasticos tuos.' Smith specially applied himself to the study of the Greek classics, and also to the reformation of the faulty pronunciation of the Greek language which then prevailed; and in a short time, so Strype, in his *Life of Sir T. Smith*, tells us, his more correct way 'prevailed all the University over.' He also endeavoured to introduce a new English alphabet of twenty-nine letters, and to amend the spelling of the time, 'some of the syllables,' he considered, 'being stuffed with needless letters.' As early as 1531 he had become a fellow of his college, and in 1538 he was chosen University Orator. In 1548, Smith, who had left the University for the Court, was knighted, and made a Secretary of State, William Cecil being also preferred to the like office in the same year. Shortly after his appointment Smith was sent as ambassador to the Emperor Charles v., and in 1551 he took part in the embassy to France to arrange a match for the King with the French sovereign's eldest daughter. On the accession of Mary he was deprived of all his offices, but he managed to pass through this dangerous reign in

safety; and Strype says of him, 'that when many were most cruelly burnt for the profession of the religion which he held, he escaped, and was saved even in the midst of the fire, which he probably might have an eye to in changing the crest of his coat-of-arms, which now was a salamander living in the midst of a flame; whereas before it was an eagle holding a writing-pen flaming in his dexter claw.' When Elizabeth came to the throne, Smith returned to Court, and was engaged in several embassies to France. In 1572 the Queen conferred on him the Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter; and shortly afterwards, on Lord Burghley's preferment to the office of Lord Treasurer, vacant by the death of the Marquis of Winchester, made him Secretary of State, a post which, four-and-twenty years before, he held under Edward VI. He died at his residence called Mounthaut, or Hill-hall, in Essex on the 12th of August 1577, and was buried in the parish church of Theydon Mount.

Sir Thomas Smith was the author of several works, and possessed a fine library of about a thousand volumes. He bequeathed all his Latin and Greek books, as well as his great globe, of his own making, to Queens' College, Cambridge, or, if that college did not care to have them, to Peterhouse. Some of his Italian and French books he gave to the Queen's Library, and many volumes were also left to friends. Strype gives a list of the contents of the Library at Hill-hall in 1566.

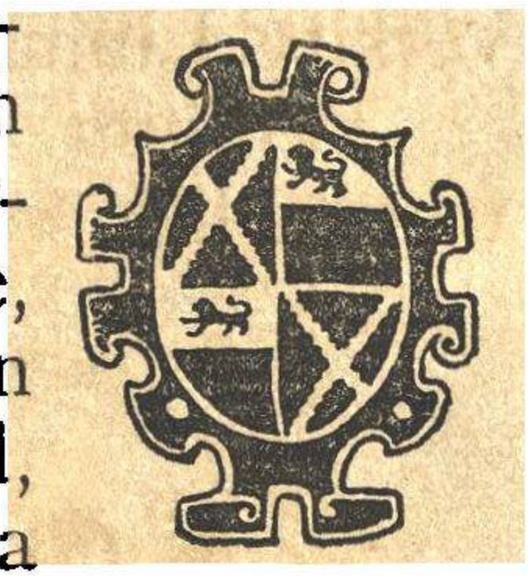
The arms of his father, John Smith, were ratified and confirmed by Christopher Barker, Esq., Garter, on March the 12th, 1545. The deed states that they were 'Sables, a fece dauncye betwixt III. lyonceux regardant, argent, langes goules, pawsing with their lyft pawes upon an awlter gold, flaming

and bourning thereon. Upon the fece IX bellets of his felde. Upon his crest an eagle rysing sables, holding in his right cley a pen argent, issuing thereout flames of fyer set upon a wreath argent and azure, mantelles goules lined argent, botoned gold.' His own arms as here figured are taken from an impression of them on the binding of a copy of *Petri Martyris Vermilii Loci Communes*, printed at London in 1576, and now in the University Library at Cambridge.

William Cecil, Lord Burghley, a relation of whose life would be the history of England during the reign of Elizabeth, was born in 1520 and died in 1598. This great statesman, who at the age of sixteen delivered a lecture on the logic of the Schools, and at nineteen one on the Greek language, found time amid the cares and anxieties attendant on his high position to form a library, which Strype tells us was a very choice one. The same authority also mentions that he gave many books to the University of Cambridge, 'both Latin and Greek, concerning the canon and civil law and physic.' The

bindings of his books are generally stamped with his arms, which are sometimes encircled by the order of the Garter, but a little volume preserved in the library of the British Museum simply bears his name and that of his second wife, his affectionate companion for forty-three years.

THOMAS WOTTON, who was born in 1521, unlike Sir T. Smith and Lord Burghley, took comparatively little part in public affairs, although he was often urged by Elizabeth to greater activity; and when he entertained the Queen at his residence, Bocton, or Boughton Place in Kent in July 1573, she offered him knighthood, which he declined.[1] Wotton was a



patron of learning, and possessed a fine and extensive collection of books, remarkable for their handsome bindings. They are generally ornamented in a style similar to that used on the volumes bound for Grolier, whose motto he adopted. Although the majority of the bindings executed for him bear the legend THOMAE WOTTONI ET AMICORVM as the only mark of their ownership, they are sometimes impressed with his arms.

Wotton was twice married. By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Rudstone, he had three sons: Edward, knighted by Elizabeth, and

[1] Izaak Walton, in his *Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, states that Thomas Wotton 'was a gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the liberal arts, in the knowledge whereof he attained unto great perfection; who though he had—besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful estate, and the ancient interest of his predecessors—many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a court life:—offering him a knighthood, and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom, and integrity of mind.'

afterwards raised to the peerage as Baron Wotton by James I.; and James and John, who also were made knights by Elizabeth. His second wife was Eleanora, daughter of Sir William Finch, of Eastwell in Kent, and widow of Robert Morton, Esq., of the same county, by whom he had a son, Henry, the poet and statesman, who was knighted by James I.

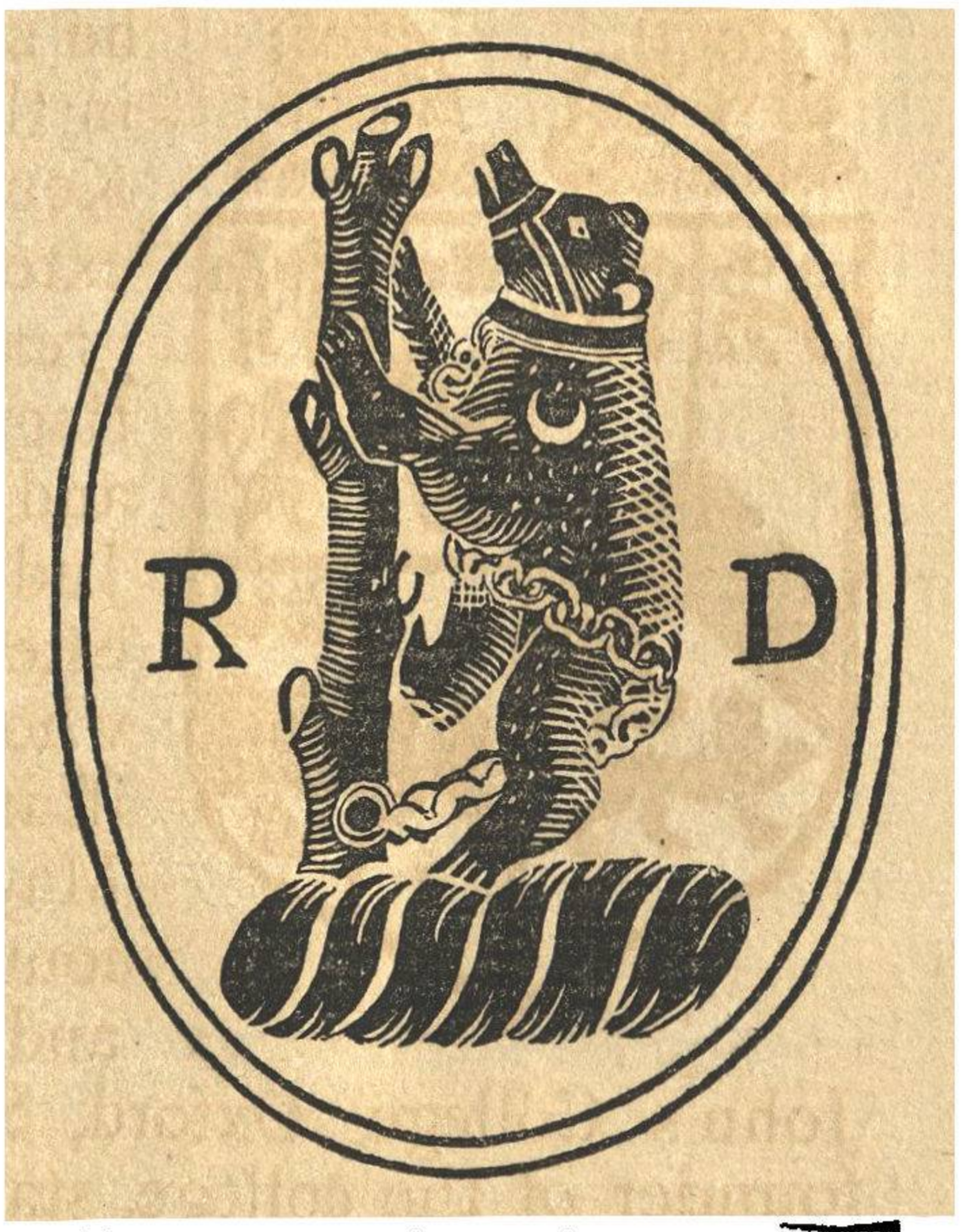
Wotton died in London in 1587, and was buried in the parish church of Boughton Malherbe in Kent, where a monument was erected to his memory.

THOMAS SMYTHE, Farmer of the Customs under the Queens Mary and Elizabeth, was, so Dr. Cox states in his *Annals of St. Helen's, Bishopgate*, of an ancient Wiltshire family, and was born about 1522. In 1562 he settled at Westenhanger, in the parish of Stanford in Kent. He possessed very extensive property, which he greatly increased by his marriage with Alice, daughter and heiress of Sir Andrew Judde, a wealthy and much esteemed citizen of London, who served the office of Sheriff in 1544, and that of Lord Mayor in 1550. Sir Andrew founded Tunbridge School; and in the statutes of St. John's College, Oxford, Sir Thomas Whyte, the founder of the college, states that he gives 'one of my fellowships for ever to Sir Andrew Judde's newly erected School at Tunbridge—propter eximium amorem in Andream Judde.' Judging from the number

of volumes bearing his arms which still exist, Smythe must have possessed a fair number of books; some of them, however, were the property of his wife, as they are stamped with her initials in addition to the arms.

Thomas Smythe and Alice Judde had six sons and six daughters. The eldest son, Sir John, died in 1608, leaving an only son, Thomas, who, in 1628, was created a peer of Ireland by the title of Viscount Strangford. The second son was ambassador to the Court of Russia, and is said to have fitted out, at his own cost, the first Arctic expedition ever sent from England, that which discovered and named 'Smith's Sound.'

ROBERT DUDLEY, Baron Denbigh and Earl of Leicester, the favourite of Elizabeth, was born on the 24th of June in 1532 or 1533. He was the fifth son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was executed in August 1553 for maintaining the claims of Lady Jane Grey, his daughter-in-law, to the crown. He was himself condemned to death for the part he took in the attempt of his father to place Lady Jane upon the throne; but on the intercession of the Lords of the Council was pardoned by Queen Mary, who received him into favour, and appointed him master of the English ordnance at the siege of St.

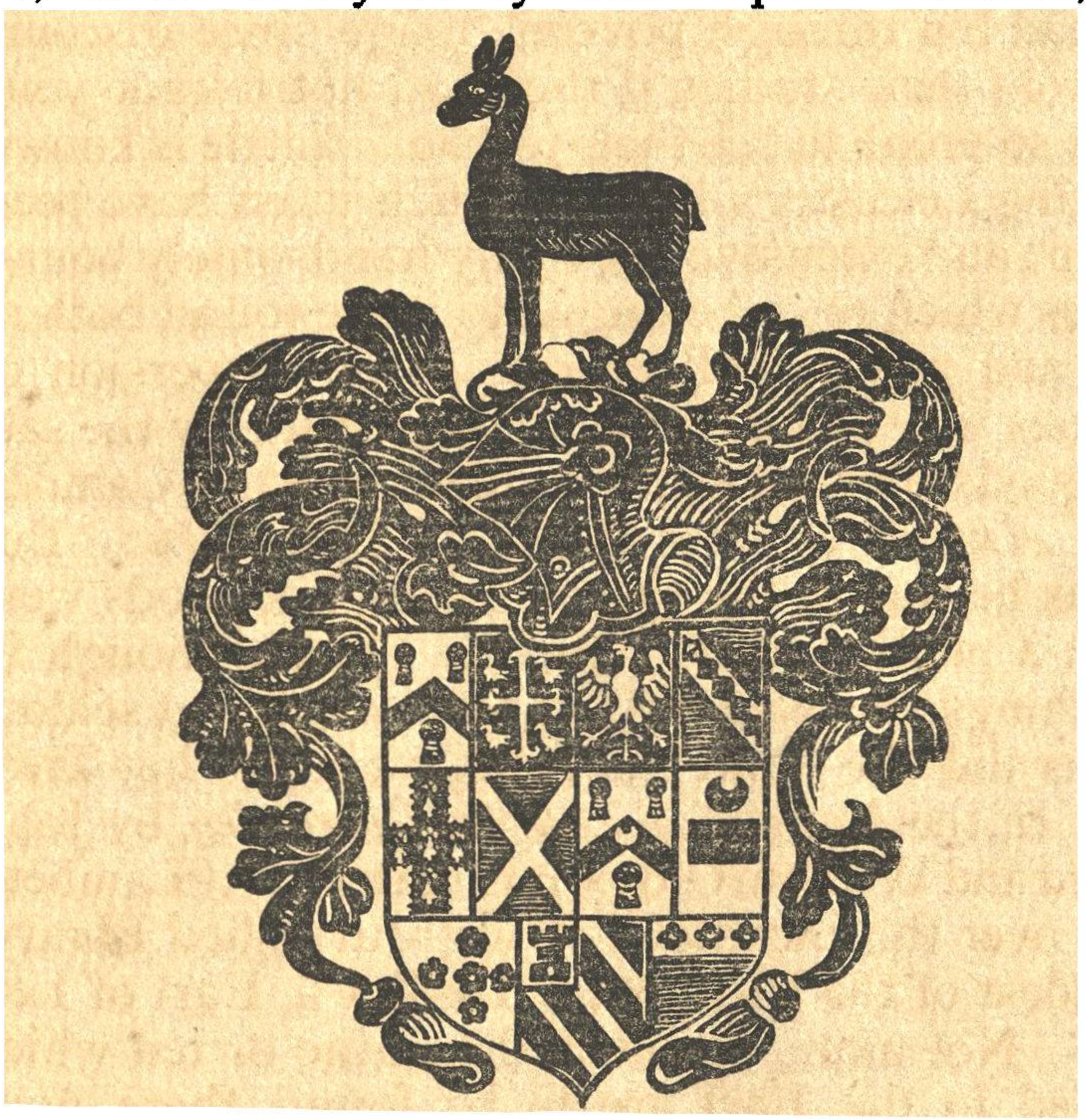


Quentin, where his brother Henry was killed. On the accession of Elizabeth, Dudley soon became a great favourite of the Queen, who advanced him to the highest honours, and, there is little doubt, at one time contemplated a marriage with him. Leicester was a generous supporter of learning, and his letters show that he was himself possessed of considerable literary ability. Geoffrey Whitney, in his dedication of his *Choice of Emblems* to the Earl, mentions 'his zeale and honourable care of those that love good letters,' and states that 'divers, who are nowe famous men, had bin through povertie longe since discouraged from their studies if they had not founde your honour so prone to bee their patron.' Little is known respecting Leicester's library, which must have been both fine and extensive, for many handsomely bound volumes which once belonged to it are found both in public and private collections. This dispersion of his books may probably be accounted for by the sale of his goods after his death, as mentioned by Camden in his *Annals of the Reign of Elizabeth*: 'But whereas he was in the Queen's debt, his goods were sold at a public Outcry: for the Queen, though in other things she were favourable enough, yet seldom or never did she remit the debts owing to her Treasury.' In the *Notices of London Libraries*, by John Bagford and William Oldys, it is stated: 'At Lambeth Palace over the Cloyster is a well-furnished library. The oldest of the books were Dudley's, Earl of Leicester.' Not more, however, than nine or ten which belonged to the Earl are to be found there now. Almost all his books have his well-known crest, the bear and ragged staff, stamped upon the covers, but a few of them bear his arms instead.

Leicester was suddenly seized with illness on his way to Kenilworth, and died at his house at

Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, on the 4th of September 1588. The suddenness of his death gave rise to a suspicion that it was caused by poison; and Ben Jonson tells a story that he had given his wife 'a bottle of liquor which he willed her to use in any faintness, which she, not knowing it was poison, gave him, and so he died.' He was buried at Warwick.

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON, 'Splendidus Hatton,' as he is styled by Christopher Ockland, was



the second son of William Hatton of Holdenby, Northamptonshire. He was born in 1540. About 1555 he entered St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner, and in 1559 he was admitted to the Society of the Inner Temple; but it is said of him

that 'he rather took a bait than made a meal at the inns of court whilst he studied the laws therein.' At a masque at Court by his handsome figure and graceful dancing he attracted the notice of Elizabeth, with whom he soon rose into great favour. The Queen conferred on him many appointments; and finally, to the surprise of everybody, and to the great indignation of the legal profession, Hatton not having been called to the Bar, made him Lord Chancellor. He died, unmarried, at Ely House in 1591. Fuller informs us that it was said of him that he was 'a mere vegetable of the Court, that sprang up at night, and sunk again at his noon'; but Camden bears a very different testimony: 'He was a man (I speak incontestable truth) of singular piety to God, fidelity to the State, uncorrupted integrity, and extensive munificence in charitable donations, and (which is not the least part of his praise) gave the kindest encouragement to learning.' Hatton was the patron and friend of Churchyard, Christopher Ockland, and of Spenser, who presented to him a copy of the *Faerie Queen*, accompanied with a dedicatory sonnet.

Two varieties of Hatton's arms are found on the covers of his books. They differ slightly in the quarterings, and one is encircled by the Order of the Garter. That given here is copied from the handsome binding of a fine folio Bible, which, in addition to his arms, bears the date 1591, and at each corner of the covers a royal crown. The year is that of Hatton's death; and the occurrence of the crowns renders it just possible that the Bible was presented to him about this time by Elizabeth, who, Fuller tells us, brought, 'as some say, cordial broths unto him with her own hands' during his last illness—an illness which was aggravated, if not caused,

by the persistence of the Queen in demanding immediate payment of a large sum of money which was owing by Hatton to her treasury.

JAMES LEY, first Earl of Marlborough, who was born in 1550, was the youngest son of Henry Ley of Teffont-Ewyas, Wiltshire. He entered Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1569, and took the degree of B.A. in 1574. In 1584 he was called to the Bar, and in 1604 was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, which *post* he resigned in 1608 for the office of Attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries in England. In 1619 he was created a baronet, having been already knighted in 1603. He received the appointment of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1622, and in 1624 that of Lord High Treasurer. In 1628 he was made Lord President of the Council. Sir James was created Lord Ley of Ley in Devonshire in 1624, and in 1626 Earl of Marlborough. He died on the 14th of March 1629, and was succeeded by his son Henry. The title became extinct in 1679. Lord Marlborough was a member of the Society of Antiquaries, before whom he read

several papers, which are printed in Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses.* He was the author of several law books, and he appears to have possessed a good library. Some early Irish chronicles which belonged to him became, after his death, the property of Henry Bouchier, Earl of Bath.

Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, says that he was 'a person of great gravity, ability, and integrity'; and Milton, in a sonnet addressed to Ley's daughter Margaret, wife of Captain Hobson, of the Isle of Wight, writes of him as

> —— 'That Good Earl, once President
> Of England's Council and her Treasury,
> Who lived in both unstain'd with gold or fee,
> And left them both, more in himself content.'

The arms given here are those of Ley when a baronet.

GEORGE CAREW, Baron Carew of Clopton and Earl of Totnes, was born in 1555. He was the son of George Carew, Dean of Windsor, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Nicholas Harvey. In 1564 he was sent to the University of Oxford, which he left in 1573, and in the following year went to Ireland and entered the service of his cousin Sir Peter Carew, who was then engaged in prosecuting his claims to his Irish property. Carew held various posts in that country, and remained there, save for visits to England and the Low Countries, until 1592, when he entered upon his duties as Lieutenant-General of the Ordinance, to which office he had been appointed in 1591. He took part in the expeditions of Essex to Cadiz in 1596, and to the Azores in 1597, and in 1599 returned to Ireland as Lord President of Munster, a post he held until 1603.

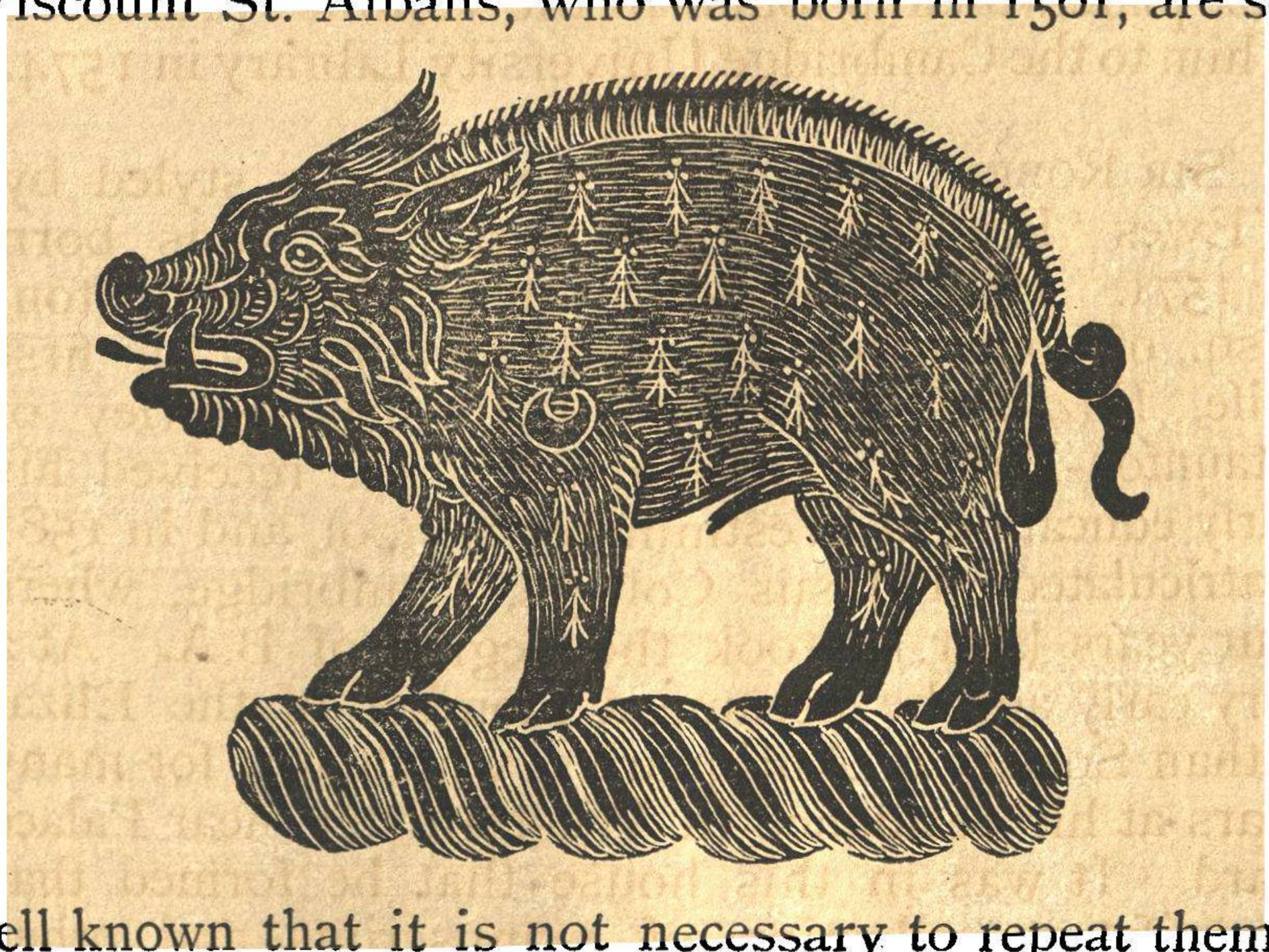
In 1605 he was made Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Anne, and in the same year was created Baron

Carew. Three years later he was made Master of the Ordinance, and in 1611 he again went to Ireland as 'Sole Commissioner for the reformation of the army and improvement of his majesties revenew.' On the 5th of February 1626, Carew, who had been knighted in 1585, was created Earl of Totnes, and in the same year received the appointment of 'Treasurer and receaver-general to queene Henriette Marie.'

He died at London on the 27th of March 1629, and was buried in the Church of Stratford-on-Avon, where his widow, a daughter of William Clopton, of Clopton House, near Stratford-on-Avon, erected a monument to his memory. He left no children.

Carew, who was much attached to antiquarian pursuits, maintained a large correspondence with Camden, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir Thomas Bodley, and many of his letters have been printed by the Camden Society. He bequeathed his books and manuscripts, of which he had acquired a considerable number, to Sir Thomas Stafford, who was said to be his illegitimate son. They afterwards became the property of Archbishop Laud, who placed forty-two of the volumes of manuscripts, which principally relate to Irish history in the time of Queen Elizabeth, in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, and four in the Bodleian Library. Others are preserved in the Department of MSS., British Museum, the State Paper Office, and at Hatfield.

The incidents of the life of FRANCIS BACON, Viscount St. Albans, who was born in 1561, are so



well known that it is not necessary to repeat them here. The fine stamp of his crest which is given

on this page occurs on the lower cover of a copy of the *Novum Organum* presented by him to the University of Cambridge. This magnificent volume, which is bound in purple velvet, and bears the arms of the University on the upper cover, contains the letter of the author offering his book, 'Almæ Matri Academiæ Cantabrigiensi.' It is signed Fr. Verulam Canc., and dated 'Apud Aedes Eboracences, 31 Oct. 1620.' Although Lord Bacon presented many books to the University, no binding is preserved in its library bearing his arms, nor have I seen one in any other collection; but those of his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, are painted on the binding of a copy of *Lycosthenis Theatrum Vitæ Humanæ*, printed at Basle in 1560, which was shown by Mr. Ralph Bankes at the Exhibition of Bookbindings at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1891. The arms of Sir Nicholas also occur on the book-plate which is found in the volumes presented by him to the Cambridge University Library in 1574.

Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, who is styled by D'Ewes 'England's Prime Antiquary,' was born in 1571. He was the eldest son of Thomas Cotton, Esq., of Connington, Huntingdonshire, by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Shirley of Staunton-Harold, Leicestershire. He received his early education at Westminster School, and in 1581 matriculated at Jesus College, Cambridge, where four years later he took the degree of B.A. At a very early age he became a member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, which met for many years at his residence in Westminster, near Palace Yard. It was in this house that he formed that magnificent collection of manuscripts and other antiquities which now ranks as one of the principal

treasures of the British Museum. The dissolution of the monasteries in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. afforded special facilities to Cotton in

forming the collection, which comprises such valuable manuscripts as the famous *Durham Book* (a copy of the Gospels in Latin, written and illuminated in honour of St. Cuthbert by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, between the years 698 and 720, with an interlinear translation in Northumbrian Saxon); and the copy of the Gospels said to have been used to administer the oath at the coronation of King Athelstan. Other treasures are the original Bull of Pope Leo X. conferring on King Henry VIII. the title of Defender of the Faith; and a contemporary and official copy of Magna Charta, granted by King John, and dated at Runnymede, 15th June, in the seventeenth year of his reign, which was given to Cotton by Sir Edward Dering. Both these precious documents were unfortunately damaged by the fire at Ashburnham House, but have since been very skilfully repaired. More than two hundred volumes of the library consisted of letters of sovereigns and statesmen; but Cotton did not acquire these valuable documents without creating a strong feeling that such a large and important collection of official papers should rather be preserved in the Record Office than left in the possession of a private in-

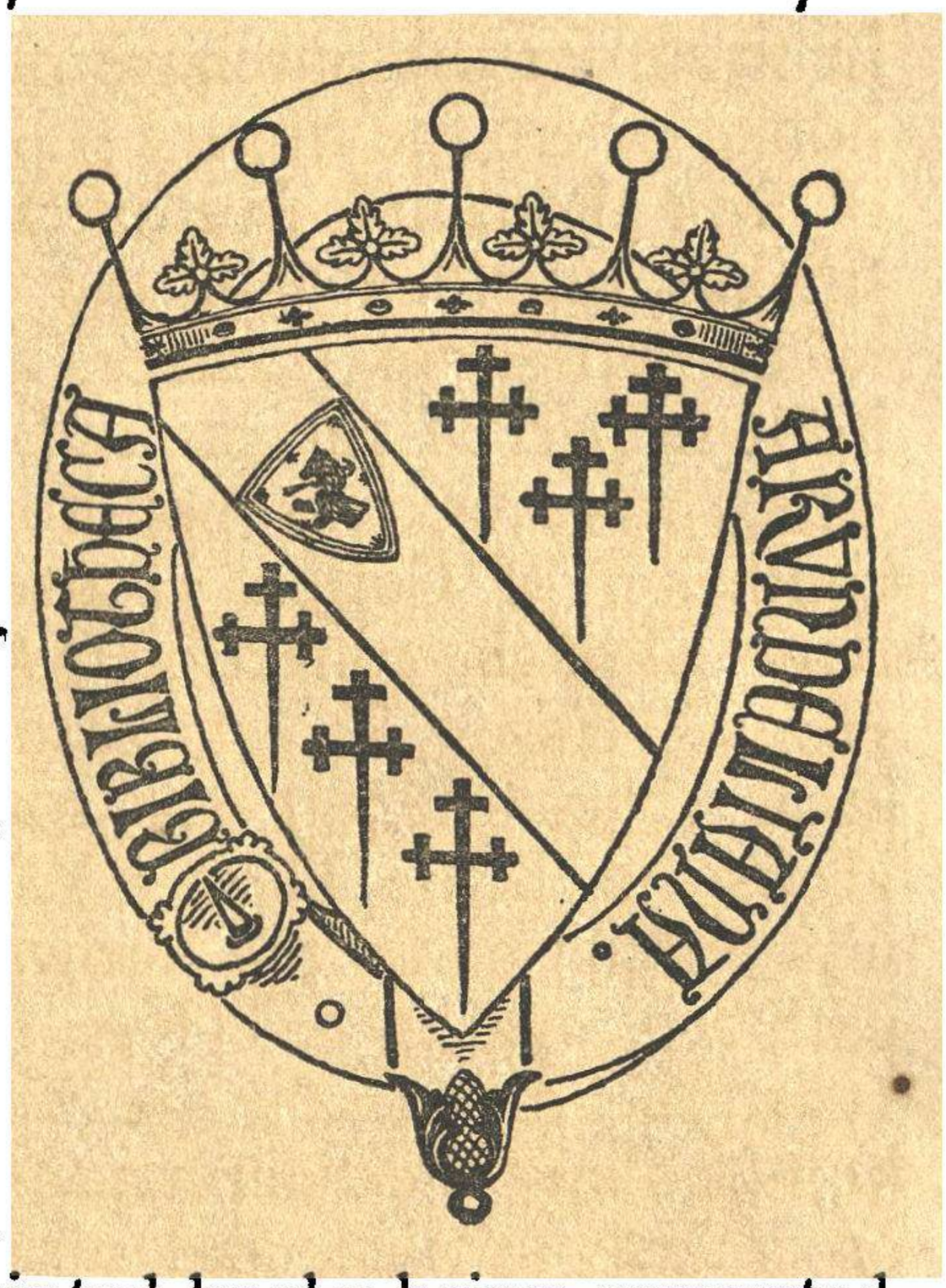
dividual, and his library was twice sequestrated by the Government. On the first occasion his books were given back to him; but on the second, although he repeatedly petitioned the King for their restoration, he died before his applications were answered. His death took place at his house in Westminster on the 6th of May 1631, and he was buried in Connington Church, where a monument was erected to his memory. Cotton was knighted on the accession of James I., and was also one of the baronets created by that sovereign in 1611. Sir Robert Cotton gave directions in his will that his library should not be sold, and bequeathed it to his son, Sir Thomas Cotton, who on the decease of his father made great efforts to obtain its restoration, which were ultimately successful. He died in 1662, leaving the collection to his son, Sir John Cotton, who, having declined an offer for it of sixty thousand pounds from Louis XIV. in 1700, expressed his intention of practically giving it to the nation; and in the same year an Act was passed, enacting that on the death of Sir John (he died in 1702), Cotton House, together with the collection, should be vested in trustees, but at the same time continue in his family and name, and not be sold or otherwise disposed of. It was further ordered that the library should be kept and preserved for public use and advantage, and that a room should be provided for it, with 'a convenient way, passage, and resort to the same, at the will and discretion of the heirs of the family.' Obstacles, however, occurred in carrying out these directions, principally on account of the difficulty of access to the library, and the unsuitableness of the room in which it was deposited, it being described as 'a narrow little room, damp, and improper for preserving the books and papers.' An

agreement was therefore made, by virtue of an Act of Parliament (5 Anne, cap. 30) with Sir John Cotton, grandson of the Sir John Cotton who died in 1702, for the purchase of the inheritance of the house where the library was deposited for the sum of four thousand, five hundred pounds; and it was further provided that the library should continue to be settled in trustees, and a convenient room built in part of the grounds for its accommodation. This, however, was not done, and the dilapidated condition of Cotton House soon necessitated the removal of the collection, which was taken to Essex House, Essex Street, Strand, where it remained until 1730, when it was conveyed to Ashburnham House in Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, which was purchased by the Crown to receive it, together with the royal MSS. Here, on the 23rd of October 1731, the disastrous fire broke out in which one hundred and fourteen manuscripts were burnt, lost, or entirely spoiled, and ninety-eight damaged, but many of these have been cleverly restored. Those which were saved were placed in a new building designed for the dormitory of Westminster School, where they remained until they were transferred to the British Museum in 1757, having been included in the Act under which the Museum was founded in 1753.

The Cottonian Collection originally consisted of 958 volumes. A catalogue of it was compiled by Dr. Thomas Smith in 1696, and a more ample one by Mr. Joseph Planta, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, in 1802.

One of the most zealous and successful collectors of the early part of the seventeenth century was THOMAS HOWARD, only son of Philip, Earl of

Arundel, and grandson of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, who was attainted in 1572. He was born on the 7th of July 1586. In 1595 his father died in the Tower, and by his attainder his son was deprived of his titles and lands. On the accession of James I. the titles were restored to him, but the King retained the property. Lord Arundel was created Earl of Norfolk in 1644, and died at Padua on the 4th of October 1646.



After his death his collections were partially dispersed; his printed books being presented to the Royal Society by Mr. Henry Howard, a grandson of the Earl, while the manuscripts were divided between that Society and the College of Arms. In 1831 the principal portion of the manuscripts in possession of the Royal Society were transferred to the British Museum, and the remainder, consisting of Oriental manuscripts, in 1835. They were valued at £3559, and were paid for partly in money, and partly with duplicates of printed books in the Museum collection. A large portion of the Earl's library consisted of the books of Bilibaldus Pirckheimer of Nuremberg, which he acquired during a diplomatic mission into Germany in 1636. The Earl of Arundel's collections also comprised a very large number of antique marbles, paintings, vases, and gems. I give his arms here as they are found on some

of his books in the British Museum, but it is possible that they may have been stamped after his death, when his library became the property of the Royal Society.

SIR EDWARD DERING was the eldest son of Sir Anthony Dering of Surrenden, Kent, and Frances, daughter of Chief Baron Bell. He was born on the 28th of January 1598, in the Tower of London, his father being the deputy-lieutenant at the time, and was educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge. He was knighted in 1619, and created a baronet in 1627. Sir Edward Dering took an active part in the dissensions between Charles I. and the Parliament, sometimes being found on one side, and sometimes on the other. He was a supporter of the Monarchy, but was opposed to the proceedings of Archbishop Laud and the High Church Party. Dering wrote several works on the religious and political questions of the time, and also took considerable interest in antiquarian subjects. He was a friend of Cotton, who was indebted to him for several of the documents in his collection, especi-

ally, as has been said, for a copy of Magna Charta, which Dering appears to have found among the records of Dover Castle, of which place he for some time held the post of lieutenant. The following letter, which is preserved among the Cottonian manuscripts, refers to this gift:—

'SIR,—I received your very wellcome letter, whereby I find you abundant in courtesyes of all natures. I am a greate debtor to you: And those obligacõns likely still to be multiplyed; as I confesse so much to you, so I hope to witness itt to posterity.

'I have sent up two of your books, which have much pleasured me: I have heere ye charter of K. John, dat^d^ att Running Meade; by ye first safe and sure messenger itt is yours. So are ye Saxon charters, as fast as I can coppy them; but, in ye meane time, I will close K. John in a boxe, and send him. I shall much long to see you at this place, when you shall cõmand the heart of

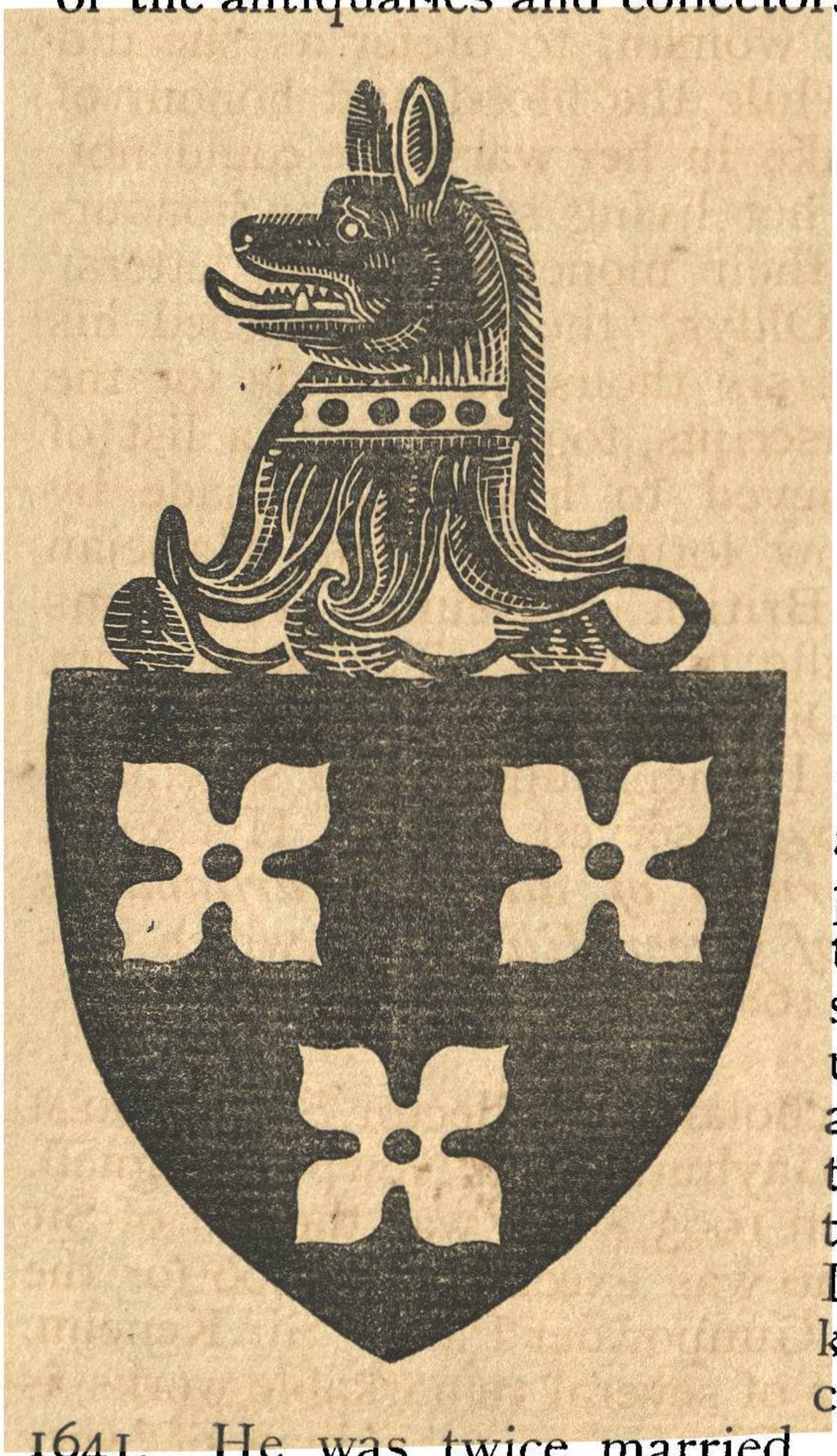
'Your affectionate freind and servant,
EDWARD DERING.'

'DOVOR CASTLE, *May* 10, 1630.'

Two varieties of Dering's arms appear on the bindings of his books. He was twice married, and died in 1644.

The date of the birth of HENRY CHITTING, who was a native of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, is not known. In 1618 he was appointed Chester Herald. He died in 1638, leaving two works in MS.—*The Extinct*

Baronage and *The Tenures of the County of Suffolk.*



SIR SYMONDS D'EWES, one of the most eminent of the antiquaries and collectors of the first half of the seventeenth century, was born in 1602. He was the son of Paul D'Ewes of Milden, Suffolk, and Cecilia, daughter and heiress of Richard Simonds of Coxden, Chardstock,. Dorsetshire. In 1618 he was sent to St. John College, Cambridge, but left in 1620, and entered at the Middle Temple, being called to the Bar in 1623. He soon, however, gave up his legal practice, and devoted himself to the study of history and antiquities. D'Ewes was made a knight in 1626, and created a baronet in 1641. He was twice married, and died in 1650. The baronetcy became extinct in 1731.

D'Ewes possessed a very fine collection of manuscripts, which were sold by his grandson to Sir Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, notwithstanding the injunction of D'Ewes, in his will,

that his library should not be sold or dispersed. Oldys states that Harley recommended Queen Anne to purchase the manuscripts for a public library, as the richest collection in England next to Sir Robert Cotton's, but that the Queen said, 'It was no virtue for her, a woman, to prefer as she did arts to arms; but while the blood and honour of the nation was at stake in her wars, she could not, till she had secured her living subjects an honourable peace, bestow their money on dead letters.' 'Whereupon,' adds Oldys, 'the Earl stretched his own purse, and gave six thousand pounds for the library.' The manuscripts, together with a list of them, which is believed to have been made by D'Ewes himself, now form part of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum. His arms occur on many of the bindings. The manuscript of an Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, compiled by D'Ewes in conjunction with Francis Junius, and several of his diaries are also preserved there. His great work was the *Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, which was not published until 1682.

The celebrated scholar and collector, SIR KENELM DIGBY, was born at Gayhurst, near Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, in 1603. He was the son of Sir Everard Digby, who was executed in 1606 for the part he took in the Gunpowder Plot. Sir Kenelm, who was the author of several remarkable works, is described by Lord Clarendon as a man of 'very extraordinary person and presence, with a wonderful graceful behaviour and a flowing courtesy and civility.' He was knighted in 1623. Digby possessed a very fine library, which, on the outbreak of the Civil War in England, he took with him to

France, and had many of the volumes bound there by Le Gascon and other eminent binders. When

he died in 1665, his library, which was still in France, was claimed as the property of the French king, by virtue of the *droit d'aubaine*, and it is said to have been purchased for ten thousand crowns by the Earl of Bristol, who died in 1676, and whose books were sold in London in 1680. A priced catalogue of the sale is preserved in the British Museum; and it is stated in it that the books principally belonged 'to the library of the Right Honourable George, late Earl of Bristol, a great part of which were the curiosities collected by the learned Sir Kenelm Digby.' It is evident, however, that some of the volumes which belonged to Digby remained in France, as several are to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale and other libraries. One with a very beautiful binding by Le Gascon is preserved in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. Sir Kenelm presented to the Bodleian Library a valuable collection of MSS. and printed books which his tutor, Thomas Allen, had bequeathed to him. He also gave a considerable number of

volumes to the library of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., and the following notice of the gift occurs in the works of Richard Baxter:—

'I proposed,' he writes, 'to have given almost all my library to Cambridge in New England; but Mr. Thomas Knowles, who knew their library, told me that Sir Kenelm Digby had already given them the Fathers, Councils and Schoolmen, and that it was Histories and Commentators which they wanted. Whereupon I sent them some of my Commentators and some Histories, among which were Freherus, Renherus, and Pistorius's collections.'

Unfortunately, this first Harvard library was destroyed by fire in 1764.

Several varieties of Sir Kenelm Digby's arms are found on the bindings of his books. They are generally accompanied with those of his wife, Venetia Anastasia Stanley, daughter of Sir Edward Stanley of Tonge Castle, Shropshire, either impaled, or on an escutcheon of pretence; while occasionally the volumes are stamped with a simple fleur-de-lis. The backs frequently bear a monogram formed by the letters K. V. D.

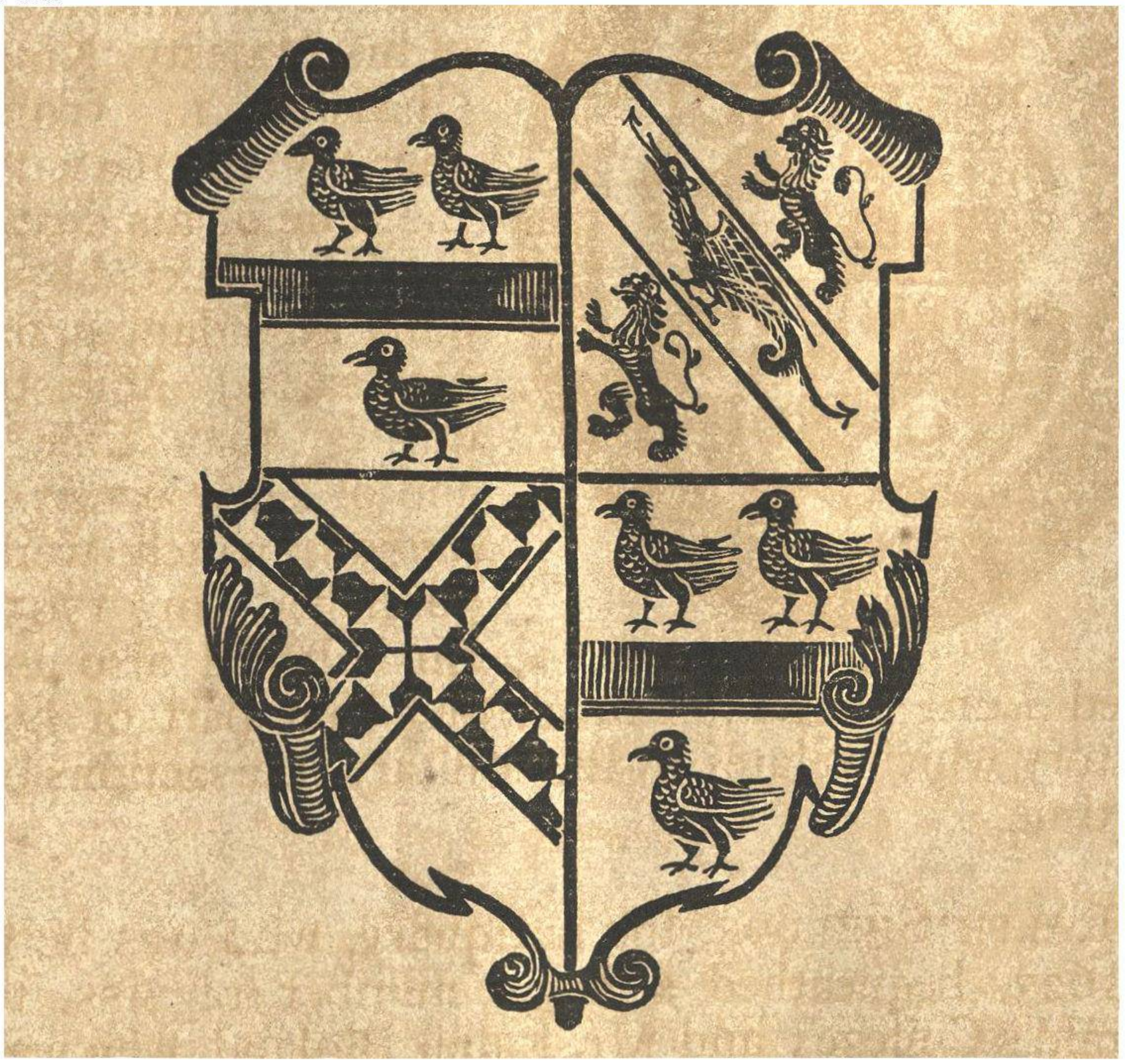
Sir Edward Walker, Garter, was the son of Edward Walker of Roobers, in Netherstowey, Somersetshire, by Barbara, daughter of Edward Salkerid of Corby Castle, Cumberland. He was for some time in the service of the Earl of Arundel, afterwards entering that of King Charles I., who made him Clerk Extraordinary of the Privy Council. Having served the offices of Blanch Lion, Rouge Dragon, and Chester, in 1645 he became Garter, and received the honour of knighthood. Sir Edward was a steadfast supporter of Charles I. in all his troubles, and after the death of the King joined the court of his son at Brussels. At the Restoration he was reinstated in his office. He died on the 19th February 1677, at the age of sixty-

five, and was buried in the Church of Stratford-upon-Avon. He was the author of *Iter Carolinum*, 'being a succinct account of the necessitated marches, retreats, and sufferings of his Majesty, King Charles I., from January 10, 1641, to the time of his death in 1648, collected by a daily attendant upon his sacred Majesty during that time'; and of *Military Discourses*, which were published in 1705. Sir Edward also assisted Lord Clarendon in writing that part of his History which relates to the military transactions of the time.

RALPH SHELDON, the antiquary, who was born in 1623, bequeathed a large number of MSS. to Herald's College; and Mr. Ralph Bigland, who was created Blue Mantle in 1757, and died as Garter in 1784, in commemoration of these gifts to the Office, caused a handsome canvas to be painted, on which are emblazoned Sheldon's arms, impaled with those of his wife, accompanied by the following biographical notice:—

'To the Memory of Ralph Sheldon of Beoley in the County of Worcester Esquire, a great Benefactor to this Office. Who died at his Manor-House of Weston in the Parish of Long-Compton, in the County of Warwick, on Midsumer Day, 1684, aged 61 years wanting 6 weeks: the Day afterwards his Heart and Bowels were buried in Long-Compton Chancel, in a Vault

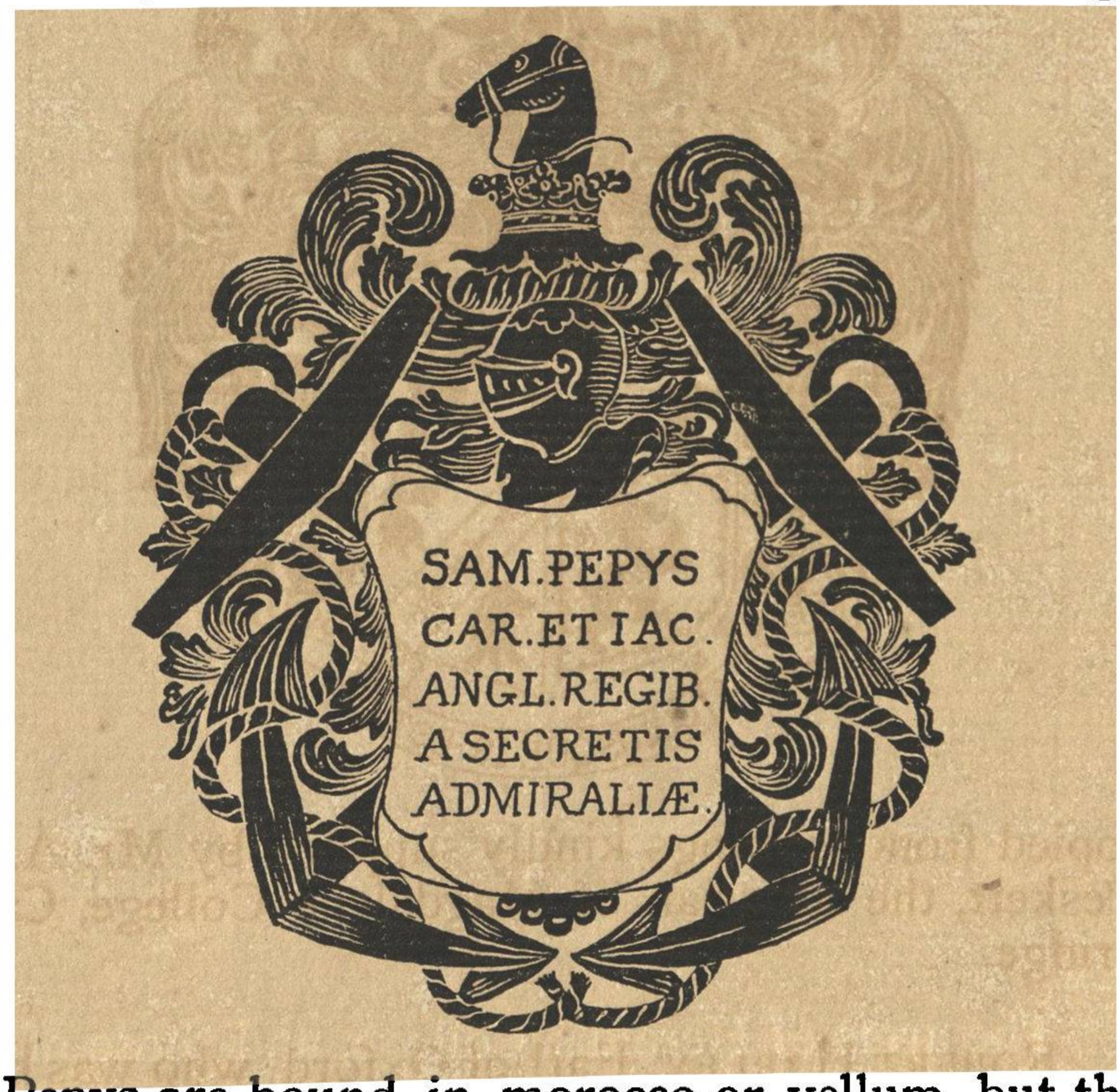
by those of his Father, Mother, Grandfather, etc., and on the 10th of July following his Body in a Vault by his Ancestors under our Lady's Chapel, Joyning on the North Side to St. Leonard's Church of Beoley: He married Henrietta-Maria, Daughter of Thomas Savage, Viscount Rock-Savage by Elizabeth his wife, Daughter of Thomas Lord Darcy, of Chich in Essex, Viscount Colchester and Earl Rivers, but by her had no Issue.'



The arms of Herald's College, and those of Mr. Ralph Bigland, also occur on the painting.

SAMUEL PEPYS, Secretary to the Admiralty in the reigns of King Charles II. and King James II., was born on the 23rd of February 1632. His father, John Pepys, was a citizen of London, where he followed the trade of a tailor, but afterwards retired to Brampton in Huntingdonshire, at which place he had inherited a property of forty pounds a year from

an elder brother. He died there in 1680. The incidents of Pepys's life are so well known that it is not necessary to repeat them here, and no better account of his library could be found than that given in the first volume of *Bibliographica* by the greatest authority on the subject, Mr. H. B. Wheatley. A few of the books which belonged



to Pepys are bound in morocco or vellum, but the greater number are clothed in calf. Almost all of them bear his arms on the lower cover, while on the upper is found a shield with the inscription SAM. PEPYS CAR. ET IAC. ANGL. REGIB. A SECRETIS ADMIRALIÆ. This shield is surmounted with his helmet and crest, and is surrounded by mantling, in which are introduced two anchors, indicating his office. There are two sizes of the stamp bearing the

arms, and also of that with the inscription. The larger stamps are those given here. They have been

copied from rubbings kindly supplied by Mr. A. G. Peskett, the librarian of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

ROBERT HARLEY, Earl of Oxford, who was born in 1661, was the greatest collector of his time, and formed a splendid library, which, when he died in 1724, included more than six thousand volumes of manuscripts in addition to about fourteen thousand five hundred charters and rolls. This collection was inherited by Lord Oxford's son Edward, second earl, by whom it was considerably augmented in every department, and at his death in 1741 the volumes of manuscripts had increased to upwards of seven

thousand five hundred. The printed books were estimated at about fifty thousand volumes, exclusive of an enormous number of pamphlets. In

the *Account of London Libraries* by Oldys and Bagford it is stated—

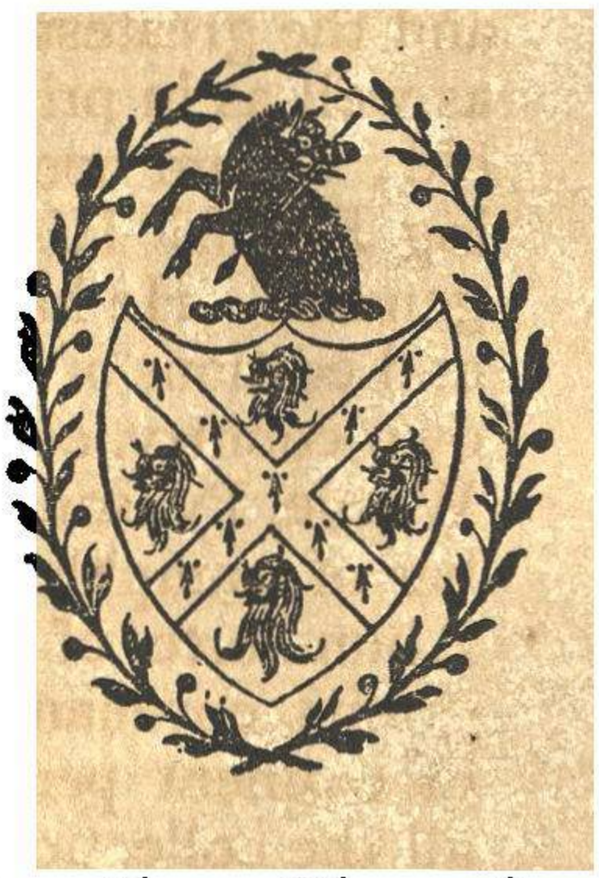
'For libraries in more expressly particular hands, the first and most universal in England, must be reckoned the Harleian, or Earl of Oxford's library, begun by his father and continued by himself. He has the rarest books of all countries, languages, and sciences, and the greatest number of any collector we ever had, in manuscript as well as in print, thousands of fragments, some a thousand years old; vellum books, some written over; all things especially respecting English History, personal as well as local, particular as well as general. He has a great collection of Bibles, etc., in all versions, and editions of all the first printed books, classics, and others of our own country, ecclesiastical as well as civil, by Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, Berthelet, Rastall, Grafton, and the greatest number of pamphlets and prints of English heads of any other person. Abundance of ledgers, chartularies, old deeds, charters, patents, grants, covenants, pedigrees, inscriptions, etc., and original letters of eminent persons, as many as would fill two hundred volumes; all the collections of his librarian Humphrey Wanley, of Stow, Sir Symonds D'Ewes, Prynne, Bishop Stillingfleet, John Bagford, Le Neve, and the flower of a hundred other libraries.'

The library became the property of Margaret, Duchess of Portland, the only daughter and heiress of the Earl, who sold the printed books by public

auction. The manuscripts were purchased by Parliament in 1753 for the sum of ten thousand pounds, and were placed in the library of the British Museum in 1757.

The arms figured here are those of Robert Harley as a commoner. They occur on the covers of a copy of *Orosii Annilonis* [*i.e.* Vitus Bering], *dissertatio de Bello Dano-Anglico*, printed in 1665, and now preserved in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. A facsimile of his autograph is impressed in gold on the inside of the upper cover, and his fine book-plate, bearing his arms with seventeen quarterings, is pasted on the back of the title-page. Harley does not appear to have placed his arms as Earl of Oxford on any of the books which belonged to him; they are not found on the bindings executed for him by Eliot and Chapman.

CLAYTON MORDAUNT CRACHERODE, to whom the British Museum is indebted for some of its most precious collections, was the son of Colonel Mordaunt Cracherode, who commanded the Marines in Anson's voyage round the world. He was born at Taplow in 1730, and was educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford. On leaving the University he took holy orders, and for some time was curate of Binsey, near Oxford, but he did not seek any preferment in the Church. On the death of his father he inherited a fortune of about £3000 a year, which enabled him to acquire a library of not less than four thousand five hundred volumes, remarkable for their rarity and beauty, seven portfolios of drawings by the great masters,



a hundred portfolios of prints, and in addition to these a splendid collection of coins and gems, and a cabinet of minerals. Mr. Cracherode's life was entirely devoted to his favourite pursuit, and it is said that he never mounted a horse, nor travelled a greater distance than from London to Oxford. Edwards in his *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* tells us that—

'For almost forty years it was his daily practice to walk from his house in Queen's Square, Westminster, to the shop of Elmsly, a bookseller in the Strand, and thence to the still more noted shop of Tom Payne, by the "Mews-Gate." Once a week, he varied the daily walk by calling on Mudge, a chronometer-maker, to get his watch regulated. . . . The ruling passion kept its strength to the last. An agent was buying prints, for addition to the store, when the Collector was dying. About four days before his death Mr. Cracherode mustered strength to pay a farewell visit to the old shop at the Mews-Gate. He put a finely printed *Terence* (from the press of Foulis) into one pocket, and a large paper *Cebes* into another; and then,—with a longing look at a certain choice *Homer*, in the course of which he mentally, and somewhat doubtingly, balanced its charms with those of its twin brother in Queen's Square, —parted finally from the daily haunt of forty peripatetic and studious years.'

Mr. Cracherode, who was a Fellow of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, and a Trustee of the British Museum, died at Queen's Square on the 5th of April 1799, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He bequeathed the whole of his collections to the nation, with the exception of two books. A copy of the Complutensian *Polyglott Bible* was given to Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, and a princeps *Homer*, once the property of De Thou, to Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church, but these volumes ultimately rejoined their former companions in the British Museum. Five different sizes of Mr. Cracherode's arms are found upon the covers

of his books. The one given here is the third in size. Sometimes his initials occur instead of his arms.

The Armorial Book-stamps contained in this article do not constitute more than a tenth part of those which have been found on the bindings of the books of English collectors, and I hope one day to be able to give in a separate form a fairly complete list of all which are known.

I cannot conclude this paper without offering my best thanks to my friend Mr. Cyril Davenport, of the British Museum, for his admirable drawings of the arms with which it is illustrated.

W. Y. FLETCHER.

PRIVATE PRINTING IN FRANCE DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE history of the private presses established during the fifteenth century on the Continent, more especially in France, is an interesting subject which has never been investigated. By private presses we should understand those set up in a monastery, a palace, a residence, or a private house, not the office of a professional printer when employed for the nonce in producing books intended for private circulation, the interpretation given to the phrase by John Martin in his *Bibliographical Catalogue of privately printed Books*. Taking this view of our subject we intend to trace the history of such presses in France, whether worked by priests, monks, or others, by their own skill and manual labour, or produced under their superintendence with the aid of experienced workmen and professional printers called in for the purpose. In fact, a private press is a press reserved for personal and not for public use, patronised, held, owned, or hired for the occasion by a private person at his own house, or by a congregation in, or close to, their buildings. Whether the copies issued were merely intended for the use of an ecclesiastical order or to be presented to high personages, whether they were exposed for sale or reserved for exchange[1] as in the case of those printed at the monastery of SS. Ulrich

[1] 'Dum libris cudendis gnaviter institit Melchior, id est consecutus ut complures libros alibi impressos per modum cambii sive commutationis obtineret.' See Weith, *Bibliotheca Augustana, Augustæ Vindelicor.*, 1777-78, vol. iii. pp. 131-132.

and Afra at Augsburg, makes no essential difference. The books are produced under the screw and level of a private and not of a public press. Herein lies the real distinction.

According to this definition the first books printed at Paris, in the precincts of the old Sorbonne, are examples of private printing, and although I have written in detail on this press in a monograph shortly to be issued by the Bibliographical Society, a brief account of it must be given here for the sake of completeness.

I. THE SORBONNE PRESS AT PARIS

The prior of the Sorbonne, elected in March 1470, Johann Heylin, otherwise called De Lapide or De la Pierre, from his birthplace Stein, a village near Borzheim in Baden, was a great lover of books. Being desirous of spreading the advantages of the new invention of printing he communicated with Guillaume Fichet, a former rector of the university, and ambassador for the French king in Italy, at that time acting as librarian of the Sorbonne. Fichet, rich in the support of a wealthy and generous protector, Jehan Rolin, Cardinal bishop of Autun, paid all expenses. From Basel, where Heylin had at one time resided, three experts in the art were invited to Paris, Michael Friburger of Colmar in Elsass, a *magister artium* whom Heylin had known at the University of Basel, Ulrich Gering of Constanz in Baden, and Martin Crantz of Stein, Heylin's own birthplace. Setting to work at once they prepared a single fount of a large round type, modelled on one used at Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz.

With this type were printed up to the time

when Fichet ceased to have any connection with the press the following sixteen books, which I have here arranged in what I believe to be their correct order :—

1. Gasparini Barzizii Epistolæ. 4°. [August? 1470.]
2. Gasparini Barzizii Orthographia. 4°. [December 1470.]
3. Sallust. 4°. [February 1471.]
4. Florus. 4°. [March 1471.]
5. Cardinal Bessarion's Orationes in Turcos. 4°. [April 1471.]
6. Fichet's Rhetorica. 4°. [July 1471.]
7. Augustini Dati Isagogicus libellus in eloquentiæ præcepta. 4°.
8. Cicero de Oratore. [Before March 6, 1472.]
9. Valerius Maximus. [Before March 6, 1472.]
10. Laurentii Vallæ Elegantiæ. Folio. [Before March 6, 1472.]
11. Cicero de Officiis. Folio. [March? 1472.]
12. Cicero's Tusculanæ Quæstiones. Folio.
13. Plato's Letters. 4°.
14. The Letters of Phalaris, Crates, and Brutus. 4°.
15. The Bucolics and Georgics of Virgil. Folio.
16. Juvenal and Persius. Folio. [September? 1472.]

For the full arguments in favour of this arrangement of the Sorbonne books, and of the dates which I have added to some of them, I must refer my readers to my forthcoming monograph, but a few notes on some of the volumes may be given here. The primacy of the *Epistolæ* of Barzizius is sufficiently proved by the couplet

> Primos ecce libros, quos haec industria finxit
> Francorum in terris, ædibus atque tuis—

in the well-known metrical colophon. As Heylin did not enter on his office of Prior until March 1470, no book could have issued from the press until some months after this date, so that the *Epistolæ* could not have been in readiness until July or August at the earliest. The *Orthographia* was

not issued in its complete form till the following December, but some copies appeared before this, without the treatises on Diphthongs and Punctuation. On December 31 Fichet presented a copy of the book to Robert Gaguin with a letter in which he alludes by name to Gutenberg as the inventor of printing. This letter, with Gaguin's laudatory verses in reply, dated January 1, was printed and added to some copies of the book, in one of which, that belonging to Heylin, now in the University Library at Basel, I had the pleasure of first discovering it, while a second has since been found in the library at Freiburg in Breisgau.

The date of the *Sallust* is fixed by an allusion, in another metrical colophon, to the outbreak of war, *i.e.* the war with Charles, Duke of Burgundy, which is again mentioned in a similar colophon to the *Florus*. Of the Orations in which Cardinal Bessarion endeavoured to incite Europe to a crusade against the Turks, we know that the manuscript was despatched from Rome in December 1470, and reached Fichet in February or March. The first copy was presented to Cardinal Rolin, with a printed letter dated April 23, and between this and March 21 of the following year, no less than forty-five copies on paper or vellum, mostly with special dedicatory letters, either printed or manuscript, had been distributed to different potentates and dignitaries, at the sole expense of Fichet, who refused to accept the fifteen ducats handed by the Cardinal to his messenger at Rome. Fichet's own *Rhetoric* was distributed in a similar way, though on a less lavish scale, copies being sent to Cardinal Rolin and to King René of Provence on July 15, 1471, and subsequently, when means of communication offered, to Bessarion, Sixtus IV., and others. The last copy

thus presented was that sent to Charles de Bourbon, Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons, on March 31, 147½.

The similarity of subject makes it probable that Fichet's *Rhetorica* may have been immediately followed by Agostino Dati's *Eloquentiæ Præcepta*. Of this book only one copy is known, that in the University Library at Basel, while of the Cicero *De Oratore* and the *Valerius Maximus*, of whose existence we learn in a letter from Fichet to Heylin, dated March 6, 147½, no examples have yet been traced. The *Elegantiæ* of Laurentius Valla, edited by Pierre Paul Vieillot (*Senilis*), is alluded to in the same letter, and has come down to us in a thick folio. Cicero's *De Officiis*, with the *De Amicitia* and other minor pieces, was in the market by March 29, 1472, and is notable as the last book from the Sorbonne press to which Heylin acted as corrector. He was succeeded in this office by Erhard Windsberg, the author of the distich found in the next book issued, an edition of the *Tusculan Disputations*.

After his return from the Court at Amboise, where he had been to see the king on behalf of Cardinal Bessarion, Fichet spent his Easter holidays in reading Plato, and the edition of his epistles in the Latin translation of Leonardo Bruni was soon after issued from the Sorbonne press. This was followed by the Epistles of Phalaris, Brutus, and Crates, to which Windsberg, still young in his office of corrector, added a metrical colophon in praise of printing, which has caused some bibliographers to misplace the book among the earliest of those printed at the Sorbonne. It may have been due to Windsberg's poetical tastes that the next books issued were the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil (the only copy of the edition now extant belonged to Lord Spencer), and the satires of Juvenal and

Persius. An illuminated copy of Juvenal, written on vellum by the scribe of the Sorbonne, and with an interlinear commentary, was presented to Pierre Doriole, some time after the appointment of the latter to the Chancellorship of France [June 26, 1472], and the printed volume (without commentary) probably appeared two or three months later, *i.e.* about September.

A few weeks before this, towards the end of August, Bessarion had been received in audience by the king, and on approaching the subject of a crusade against the Turks had been angrily repulsed. Heart-broken at the failure of all his hopes he left France accompanied by the faithful Fichet, and died at Ravenna, November 18, 1472. Fichet proceeded to Rome, where he was appointed chamberlain to the Pope, and did not return to France, or take any further part in the direction of the press at the Sorbonne. The librarian of the year, Jean Royer (Roerius), allowed the printers to continue their workshop in the precincts of the library until he laid down his office at Easter, 1473. During this period they issued a *Terence*, rather carelessly printed, and some few books likely to have a ready sale (the *De duobus amantibus* and *De miseriis curialium* of Æneas Sylvius, Ambrosius' *De Officiis*, Seneca's *De Virtutibus*, and the *Sophologium* of Jacobus Magnus), but with the withdrawal of Fichet, the press, which was afterwards carried on at the Golden Sun in the 'Grant rue S. Jacques,' loses its special character and no longer concerns us.

II. PRESS OF THE CANON OF S. HILAIRE, POITIERS, 1479

The second private press erected on French soil was set up, nine years later, at Poitiers, whither a

rich canon of the royal monastery of S. Hilaire-le-grand invited a printer from Paris, lodging him in his own house. On the vigil of the Assumption, August 14, 1479, appeared the first-fruits of this press, a quarto volume of 326 leaves, entitled *Breviarium historiale*, containing an abridgment of the work of Guido de Columna, canon of Chartres at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The colophon of the book tells us that it was printed 'prope Sanctum Hilarium in domo cujusdem viri illustrissimi canonici ejusdem ecclesie beatissimi Hilarii.' The name of the canon is not given, but the title of 'very illustrious' could only have been offered to a great dignitary, and two men only in the canonical Chapter of Saint Hilaire had any rights to be so considered. One of these, Thomas de Landaz, the treasurer (*thesaurarius*), was at the same time Abbot of Saint Martin of Tours, and did not reside at Poitiers; the other, Bertrandus de Brossa, whom we must regard as the printer's patron, was of Lemosine origin, held the office of precentor (*cantor*), was judge of the choir (*judex chori*), provost of Luçon, a royal counsellor and master of the rolls. He had just been chosen by Louis XI. as his ambassador to the High Leagues of Germany. Another book printed at the press, —the well-known *Expositio brevis et utilis super toto psalterio* of Cardinal Torquemada, a folio volume executed in large type, was finished the thirteenth of the Calends of March 1480 (February 17, 1481), when the very illustrious canon returned home from his diplomatic mission.

Bertrand de Brossa died on the 2nd of September of the same year, and was buried with great pomp in the basilica of Saint Hilaire-le-grand. After his death the press was continued, but ceased to be

private. Instead of books for the canons, it now published books for the students of the university. In 1483 appeared a folio volume, printed in double columns, containing a commentary by a famous professor, Helias Regnier, who then held a chair of canonical law, on some cases of the Clementines and the Decretales. The type in this is the same as in the first book, and the printers for the first time give their names (*per magistrum Johannem Stephanumque de Gradibus*). I believe that the *Magister Joannes* is Maître Jean Bouyer, a priest of the diocese of Saintes (*Xanctonensis diocesis*), who signed with his full name other books printed subsequently, and that *Stephanus de Gradibus*, Stephen des Grez, was the journeyman printer summoned from Paris. Certainly the founts are Parisian. They are similar (both the smaller and the larger) to the types used by Jean Bonhomme, printer to the University of Paris. Copies of both these two books printed at the private press of Saint Hilaire are in England. The *Breviarium historiale* has been recently purchased by the British Museum and the *Expositio super Psalterio* is in the Bodleian.[1]

III. PRESS OF PIERRE PLUMÉ AT CHARTRES, 1482

Three years after the establishment of a press at Poitiers a wealthy canon, Pierre Plumé of Chartres called from Paris an experienced master in the art of printing, Jehan Du Pré, and lodged him, with his press and materials, in the canon-house by the cathedral cloister (*in famosissima urbe Carnoti, domo canoniali sita in claustro*). A folio missal for the

[1] For further particulars see my pamphlet: *Les débuts de l'imprimerie à Poitiers; Jean Bouyer, Saintongeais, prototypographe poitevin*, Paris, 1894. 8vo.

use of Chartres (*secundum usum Carnotensem*) was successfully printed (*arte impressoria feliciter insculptum*) and finished on the last day of July. Of this splendid volume of 228 leaves, in double columns, two copies only are known, both on vellum, and decorated with illuminated borders. One is in the Public Library at Chartres, the other is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. A facsimile of the last page of the book is to be found in Thierry-Poux, *Premiers monuments de l'Imprimerie en France* (Plate xxviii. No. 7). A breviary for the use of Chartres was also printed at the same place and finished on the 17th of July 1483, one year after the missal. There is no doubt that the book was printed at the request of the Canon Plumé, for the colophon tells us '*fecit accuratissime imprimi providus vir Petrus Plume predocte ecclesie canonicus meritissimus.*' Of the breviary, an octavo volume of 362 leaves, printed in double columns, only one copy is known, belonging now to the Bibliothèque Nationale, and this is printed on vellum.

Jehan du Pré, who printed these two books at Chartres, began to print in Paris in 1481, after learning his art, as we believe, at Venice, where his countrymen Nicolas Jenson and Jacques Le Rouge (*Jacobus Rubeus Gallicus*) owned flourishing establishments.[1] A folio missal after the use of Paris was issued by him in September 1481, in collabora-

[1] Du Pré brought with him Venetian workmen into France. In the colophon of a folio missal, '*ad usum Lemovicensis ecclesiæ*,' executed in 1483, we read that the book is *Impressum manu. et operâ peritissimi viri Magistri Johannis de Prato Venetica forma*, and in the dedication to John Barton, bishop of Limoges, it is recorded that the aforesaid missal was completed in Paris on the vigil of the Annunciation of the year 1483 by Venetian workmen, experts in the art of printing (*per Venetos arte impressoria magnificos et valde expertos*). See Poyet, *Essai de Bibliographie Limousine*; Limoges, 1862. 8°. pp. 12-13. Venice, at the time, was renowned for its superior impressions of missals and breviaries. This city was really a school of printing. In the colophon of an edition of Aristotle, printed in 1482 (Hain, *10320), a certain *Joannes Cordubensis* styles himself '*ejusdem artis* [*impressoriæ*] *professor et corrector.*'

tion with Didier Huym. In November of the same year he printed by himself another folio missal for the use of the diocese of Verdun in Lorraine, a commission from the bishop Jean de Haraucourt, the late treacherous accomplice of Cardinal La Ballue. These two missals are the first books with wood-cuts printed in Paris. Du Pré, in December, printed also another Roman missal. His reputation as a famous printer was well established when the Canon Plumé made arrangements with him for the removal of his press to Chartres.

IV. PRESS OF JEHAN COLIN AND GERARD DE VILLENEUVE AT METZ, 1482

In the same year, 1482, we find a Carmelite friar, Jehan Colin (*Johannes Colini*), setting up a press at Metz in Lorraine, in partnership with Gerard de Villeneuve (*Gerhardus de Nova Civitate*). They printed here the first book of the *Imitatio Christi*, with the title '*Ammoniciones ad spiritualem vitam utiles*,' a small quarto pamphlet of twenty-four leaves. The colophon on the recto of the last leaf runs: '*Expliciunt Ammoniciones ad spiritualem vitam utiles. Impresse in civitate Metensi per fratrem Johannem Colini Ordinis Fratrum Carmelitarum et Gerhardum de Nova Civitate. Anno domini Mille° cccc° lxxxii.*' Copies are to be seen in the Town Library at Metz, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in the Public Library at Troyes. A facsimile of this very rare edition is given by Thierry-Poux (*op. cit.* Plate xxviii. No. 9). The impression is rather rude, and the types much worn and mixed of different sorts. They represent a second-hand printing material borrowed from Cologne printers, mainly from Guldenschaff. There is a *Speculum Sacerdotum*

by Hermann de Schildis (sixteen leaves), printed the year before with the same types and in the same manner. It bears the imprint of Treves (*Impressum Treveris*), but has no name of printer. It is very likely the first essay from the press of Colin and Gerard.

With the copy of the *Ammoniciones* preserved at Metz, there is bound an anonymous tract by the well-known Carthusian monk Rickel, entitled: '*Speculum aureum anime peccatricis a quodam Cartusiense editum.*' It is printed with the same mixed types, and dated 19th August 1482. It consists of thirty-five printed leaves, and can be ascribed to the private field of Jehan Colin and Gerard de Villeneuve at Metz, the paper being also similar. Another little pamphlet of six leaves, '*Exercitio fructuosa Symboli Athanasii.—Sequitur et devotus modus dicendi Pater Noster,*' is printed with the same types. It is bound with the *Speculum Sacerdotum* in the copy at the Town Library at Treves. But copies of it have been found separately, as is the case with one in the Metz Library, and another in my own collection. Some think that it may have been produced at Metz, like the *Ammoniciones*; but we have no sufficient ground for deciding whether the *Symbolum* is really printed there or at Treves. We can only say that all these pamphlets are printed with the same materials at the same press, which worked first at Treves in 1481, and afterwards at Metz in 1482.

V. PRESS AT BREHAN-LOUDEAC, 1484

At Brehan-Loudeac in the duchy of Brittany, a press was set up as early as 1484, by Robin Fouquet and Jehan Cres, on the estate of Jehan de Rohan, and

under his protection. Rohan's manor-house, a large and handsome building of the fifteenth century is still standing in the parish of St. Stephen du Gué de l'Isle. The river Lié runs through the castle moat. On the further bank stands the parish of Brehan-Loudeac. It is very probable, as M. Arthur de la Borderie asserts in his book, *l'Imprimerie en Bretagne au xve siècle* (pp. 65-66), that the printers were lodged in one of the little villages facing the manor on the right bank of the stream.

Here were printed, in the course of less than nine years, a series of ten books or pamphlets, most of them of a popular character. Of all these, except one (the *Coustumes de Bretaigne*), it is stated in their respective colophons that they are printed under the authority of the noble and powerful Jehan de Rohan, Lord of the Gué de l'Isle. The paper itself was manufactured in the mills on his manor, and exhibits as a watermark, the 'mascle,' a kind of water trefoil, which forms part of the arms of the Rohans.

The impressions known to have been issued from the press of Brehan-Loudeac are, in their order:—

1. *Le Trespassement Notre Dame* (a poem in 335 octosyllabic verses).—No title. Colophon: 'Cy finist le trespassement Notre Dame, imprimé par Robin Foucquet et Iehan Cres soubz noble et puissant seigneur Iehan de Rohan, seigneur du Gué de Lisle, ou moys de decembre Lan mil iiii^c^ iiii vingts et quatre' (1484). 4°. 7 leaves, 27 lines.

2. *Les loys des Trespassez*, avecques le pelerinaige maistre Iehan de Mung en vision. Imprime par Robin Foucquet et Iehan Cres a Brehant Lodeac soubz noble et puissant seigneur Iehan de Rohan, seigneur du Gué de Lisle, le iiie iour de ianvier mil iiii^c^ quatre vingts et quatre [1485]. 4°. 8 leaves, 27 lines.

3. *La patience de Griselidis.*—No title. Colophon: 'Cy finist la patience de Grisilidis (*sic*) imprime par Robin Foucquet et Iehan Cres a Brehant Lodeac soubz noble et puissant

seigneur Iehan de Rohan, seigneur du Gué de Lisle, le xxviii[e] iour de ianvier lan mil iiii[c] quatre vingts et quatre' [1485]. 4°. 14 leaves, 27 lines.

4. *Le Breviaire des nobles* (a poem in 445 verses).—Imprime par Robin Foucquet et Iehan Cres a Brehant Lodeac soubz noble et puissant seigneur Iehan de Rohan seigneur du Gué de Lisle, le xxv[e] iour de ianvier lan mil iiii[c] quatre vingts et quatre [1485]. 4°. 12 leaves, 27 lines.

5. *Loraison de Pierre de Nesson.*—No title. Colophon: 'Cy finist loraison faicte par Maistre Pierre de Nesson imprime par Robin Foucquet et Iehan Cres a Brehant Lodeac soubz noble et puissant seigneur Iehan de Rohan, seigneur du Gué de Lisle, le xxvii[e] iour de ianvier lan mil iiii[c] quatre vingts et quatre' [1485]. 4°. 6 leaves, 27 lines.

6. *Le Songe de la Pucelle* (a poem in 343 octosyllabic verses).—Imprime par Robin Foucquet et Iehan Cres soubz noble et puissant seigneur Iehan de Rohan seigneur du Gué de Lisle ou moys de Ianvier mil iiii[c] iiii vingts et quatre [1485]. 8 leaves, 27 lines.[1]

7. *Le secret des secrets* Aristote qui enseigne a cognoistre la complexion des hommes et des femmes. Imprime par Robin Foucquet et Iehan Cres a Brehan Lodeac soubz noble et puissant seigneur Iehan de Rohan seigneur du Gué de Lisle [1485]. 4°. 6 leaves, 27 lines.

8. *Le mirouer dor de lame pecheresse.*—Imprime par Robin Foucquet et Iehan Cres, le v[e] iour de mars lan mil iiii[c] iiii vingts et quatre [1485]. 4°. 58 leaves, 27 lines.

9. *Le vie de Iesus Christi.*—No title. Colophon: 'Cy finist le livre nomme la vie de Iesu crist ouquel est comprise la creation de adam, de eve et du monde iusques a la passion et resurrection. La vie notre dame. La vie sainct iehan baptiste. La vie de iudas et plusieurs autres beaulx

[1] These six pamphlets are bound up together, with another *La tres celebre prize de Grenade*, printed elsewhere, in one volume, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Y. 4418[A])—they are unique copies. The same library possesses the unique copies of the *Vie de Jesus Christ*, the *Miroir de lame pecheresse*, and the *Secret des Secrets*, also bound together in one volume (Réserve. Inventaire: H, 506), and a copy of the *Coustumes et Constitucions de Bretaigne* (Réserve. Inventaire, F. 956). Of this last another copy is in the Public Library at Rennes (Armoire I. No. 1594 bis.), and we have seen a third, but wanting the title, in the private library of the late Mons. Dugast-Matifeux at Nantes. One or two other copies are said to be in existence, but we have not been able yet to trace their whereabouts. Of the *Coustumes*, a book of general practice and use, a greater number of copies seem to have been printed than of the other Brehan-Loudeac books.

histoires. Imprime par Robin Foucquet et Iehan Cres, le derrenier iour dapvril lan mil iiii^{c} iiii^{xx} et cincq [1485]. Deo gracias.' 4°. 154 leaves, 27 lines.

10. *Les Coustumes et Constitucions de Bretaigne.*—Colophon: 'Lan de grace mil iiii^{c} iiii^{xx} et cinq [1485]. Le iii^{e} iour de Iuillet . . . a este paracheve dimprimer ce present volume de coustumes . . . auecques les constitutions, establissement et ordonnances faictes en parlement de bretaigne es temps passez et iucques a ce iour . . . par l'industrie et ouvraige de Robin Foucquet et Iehan Cres maistres en lart dimpression a Brehant Lodeac ou diocese de Sainct Brieuc. Ce soit a la louange de la Trinité. Amen.

ROBIN FOUCQUET.
IEHAN CRES.

4°. 236 leaves, 27 lines.

This last colophon, in its general features, is copied exactly from the first edition of the *Coustumes de Bretaigne*, printed at Rennes by Bellesculée of Poitiers and Josse, a few months before, on the 26th of March of the same year. As the name of Jehan de Rohan is not mentioned in the last three impressions, it is probable that the printers were by this time left to themselves, and published these more important volumes at their own risk, as a business speculation. On the other hand, as says the learned Mons. de la Borderie, there is good ground for thinking that Jehan de Rohan had the seven pamphlets which bear his name printed at his own expenses.[1] Although the mention of the place of printing is omitted in three of them, internal evidence proves that all the books on our list were printed with the same material, in the same way, and issued at the same spot. The type itself is of a peculiar shape. It is a variety of the 'lettre bâtarde' of the Burgundo-Flemish school, nearly similar to

[1] 'On a lieu de croire qu'il fit exécuter à ses frais les sept impressions qui portent son nom' (*L'imprimerie en Bretagne au xve siècle*, Nantes, 1878, p. 65).

the type used at Ghent by Arendt de Keysere, or at Louvain by Rodolph Loeffs de Driel, a style of letter sometimes imitated by English printers of the fifteenth century like Caxton, William de Machlinia, and the unknown printers of St. Albans and of the 'Sege of Rhodes.'[1] Before the final accession of the duchy of Brittany to the crown of France, its chief commercial dealings were with Flanders and the Netherlands. Flemish and Dutch artists were regularly employed for all sorts of works in preference to others. It is, therefore, not surprising to see Flemish instead of Parisian types imported in this case. The communications by sea with the northern countries were continual and more active than by land.

VI. PRESS OF JEHAN CRES AT THE ABBEY OF LANTENAC

When, a short time after, war was declared between Brittany and France, all aliens were obliged to leave the duchy. Robin Fouquet, who, from his christian name of 'Robin,' appears to have belonged to one of the neighbouring provinces of Anjou or Maine, was one of these, and his partner Cres, to whom he had taught his art, was thus left alone. Cres, who was probably an ecclesiastic, left Brehan-Loudeac, an open place unsafe in time of war, and removed to the Benedictine Abbey of Lantenac at

[1] Facsimiles of the seven printed leaves of the *Trespassement Notre Dame* are exhibited at the end of the work of Mons. Arthur de la Borderie (*L'imprimerie en Bretagne au xve siècle*). A facsimile of the last page with the colophon is given by the late Mons. Thierry-Poux in the *Premiers monuments de l'imprimerie en France au xve siècle*, Plate xxx. No. 1. The latter gives also a facsimile of *Les Loys des Trespassez* with the last lines of imprint (Plate xxx. No. 2). Compare these with the facsimiles of books printed by De Keysere and Loefs de Driel in Holtrop's *Monuments typographiques des Pays-bas au xve siècle*, and for the imitations of English printers see Plates iii, xvii, xix, and xxxiv, in the recent publication of the conscientious Mr. Gordon-Duff on *Early English Printing*.

a short distance (three or four miles) from the manor 'Du Gué de l'Isle,' and close to the little fortified place of La Chèze,[1] under its immediate protection. He set up here a second press with another type, his first having apparently been carried away or melted down, as it does not appear again anywhere. Although completely different from the one used at Brehan-Loudeac, this type also came from Flanders, and was in the square Gothic styled 'lettre de forme,' a large heavy black letter, uneven, and irregularly cast. It resembles greatly a type used at Valenciennes by Jehan Du Liege, the first printer of this city (compare the facsimiles in Thierry-Poux, xxxiv. Nos. 10, 11, and xli. 7, 9, 10). The first book printed with this fount is an edition of Mandeville's *Travels*, a quarto of 123 printed leaves, ending with the colophon: 'Cy finist ce tres playsant livre nomme Mandeville parlant moult authentiquement du pais et terre doultremer. Imprime lan de grace mil cccc. qutre (*sic*) vingz et sept, le xxvi. iour de mars' [1488].

The place of imprint does not appear in the volume, but there is no doubt that it is Lantenac, as the other book to be soon described, printed with the same black-letter types, gives this as its place of imprint. The 'Mandeville' is very rudely printed. The lines are uneven, like the pages. Some pages have twenty-seven, twenty-six, or twenty-five lines; two in the middle of the book only twenty. There are many other defects of workmanship, *e.g.* the pages are not set squarely, so that they look as if they had been printed separately, one after the other. In fact the volume is but prentice work. The only

[1] Lantenac is at the present day a little village in the commune of La Ferrière (formerly Trève of La Chèze), canton of La Chèze, arrondissement of Loudéac (Côtes du Nord). It was within 1600 or 1800 yards from La Chèze, a residence on the estate of the Viscount de Rohan, cousin of Jehan de Rohan.

copy known of this very rare edition is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Another book printed by Jehan Cres, with Lantenac as its place of imprint, is *Le Doctrinal des Nouvelles Mariées.* On the verso of this title a rude wood-cut represents an old woman catechising two young ladies, the 'nouvelles mariées.' The colophon is arranged in five lines, with the name of the printer at the end, in this manner:

> Cy finist le doctrinal des nouvelles mariees Imprime a lan tenac Le cincquiesme iour doc tobre Lan mil quatre cent qua tre vings xi IEHAN CRES.

Underneath is a device showing a star, a fish, and a shell, as represented in Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire* (ii. col. 783).

The piece, a little poem of 168 verses in twenty-eight sestetts, consists of six leaves only, printed with the same type as the 'Mandeville.' The unique copy formerly in the La Vallière, Laire, and De Bure collections, is now in the library of the late M. Thomas Dobrée of Nantes.

A third piece, *Les sept pseaulmes en franczois,* printed at Lantenac, is mentioned by Brunet (*Manuel du Libraire,* v. col. 293 f.), and ends with this colophon: 'Cy finissent les sept pseaulmes penitenciaulx et la letanie en franczois.' There is no indication of imprint, but below the colophon is the device of Cres. On the verso of the first leaf a wood-cut represents King David. The Psalms are translated in 119 hexasyllabic quatrains. Each stanza is preceded by the Latin text. After the Psalms, the Litany of the Saints in French, the *Paternoster* and *Ave Maria,* an 'oraison' in French, the eight verses of Saint Bernard 'moult devotz et profitables,' and

two other 'oraisons,' one to the Almighty, the other to the Holy Virgin. The whole makes a small quarto of eighteen leaves. No date is given, but as Jehan de Rohan, the protector of Cres, died in 1493, we think that the *Pseaumes* are not later than that year. We have not been able to trace the unique copy seen by Brunet, and therefore cannot state its present owner.

VII. PRESS OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF EMBRUN, 1489-90

We must now turn to the Alps in the south-east of France. In 1489, at Embrun in Dauphiné, the archbishop, wishing to supply the deficiencies and errors of manuscript copies of the local breviary, made up his mind to supersede them by correct copies by means of the art of printing, thitherto not practised in his diocese. A curé of the name of Esprit Rouvier (*Spiritus Roverii*) was intrusted by him with the revision of the liturgical text of the Embrun breviary, in preparation for the press. A printer called specially for the purpose was probably lodged in the archiepiscopal palace, or in some other part of the city at the archbishop's expense. The work was conducted by Jacques le Rouge (*Jacobinus de Rubeis*), the well-known friend of Nicolas Jenson.

This Jacques le Rouge, a Frenchman of the diocese of Langres, was established in Italy. He had been practising his art at Venice from 1472 till 1478, and had removed to Pinerolo, a little city of Piedmont, on the other side of the Alps. He came to Embrun at the request of the archbishop, with a staff of experienced workmen, and a large edition of the *Breviarium Ebredunense* was finished on the 10th of March 1489 (1490, new style). Only one

copy of this impression, hitherto unknown to bibliographers, is still in existence. This was discovered a few years ago in the little church of Arche, near Barcelonette in the Basses Alpes, to which it had been bequeathed in 1497 by a former owner, Esprit Claret (*Spiritus Clareti*), as attested by a contemporary manuscript inscription. It forms a thick octavo volume of 436 leaves printed on vellum, in double columns, Gothic type, and belongs now to the Bibliothèque Nationale. On the verso of folio 257, instead of a regular colophon, is the following brief or archiepiscopal letter, printed in red, where are related the particulars pointed out by us concerning its impression :

'Iohannes dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia archiepiscopus et princeps Ebredunensis ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Tenore presentium universis posteris notum facimus quod nos prout nostro pastorali incumbit officio summopere affectantes breviariorum penuriam et corruptionem quos in nostra invenimus diocesi, permultorum correctam impressionem repellere ac super officio dicendo mentes prius titubantes nostris declarationibus et ordinationibus claros reddere, breviariorum ipsorum secundum usum ecclesie nostre Ebredunensis cum faciliore ordine et officiorum nouorum suis in locis sita Presertim Spiritus Roverii circa Ebredunensis curati ecclesie de Ristolatio prefate nostre diocesis dilecti capellani nostri diligentia et labore emendatorum per rubricas novas quomodo et quando officio presertim Beate Marie tam solemne quam parum ac beati Marcellini et defunctorum per annum die usum dicenda sint et ad illa dicendum quis obligatur declarando et ordinando cum caracteribus industris viri Magistri Jacobini de Rubeis Gallici Lingonensis diocesis ac ejus et in arte imprimendi peritorum et expertorum ab eo assumptorum artificum opera in civitate nostra Ebredunensi in magno numero eo modo seu stilo quo hoc impressere dicta mense marcii Anni a nativitate Domini millesimi quadragentesimi octuagesimi noni completum Fieri jussimus et fecimus. Datum in palatio nostro archiepiscopali Ebredunensi die decima dicti mensis marcii anno quo supra.

N. PARIS.'

A facsimile of these lines is given in Thierry-Poux (*Premiers monuments de l'Imprimerie en France*), Plate xxxv. No. 9.

VIII. PRESS OF MICHEL ANDRIEU AT GOUPILLIÈRES, 1491

At the beginning of the year 1491, a priest of the name of Michel Andrieu set up a little press at Goupillières, near Beaumont-le-Roger in Normandy, in order to print a little prayer-book, *Heures de Goupillières*, whose colophon reads: 'Les presentes heures furent imprimees à Goupilleres le viiie iour de may mil quatre cent quatre vingts et onze par honorable homme messire Michel Andrieu, prestre.' Only twenty-six leaves of the book, a very small octavo, are in existence. These precious fragments discovered by Mons. Léop. Delisle, pasted on the boards of an old binding, are exhibited at the Bibliothèque Nationale. A facsimile of the page containing the colophon is given by Thierry-Poux (*op. cit.* Plate xxxvii. No. 2). The Gothic type is the same as that used in the *Croniques de Normandie*, printed at Rouen in 1487 by Noël de Harsy. There are two places named Goupillières: one near Rouen, the other near Beaumont-le-Roger. As in the calendar mention is made of Saint Gaude bishop, a patron of the diocese of Evreux, we agree with Mons. Delisle that the imprint denotes Goupillières in the present department of the Eure.

IX. PRESS OF THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY AT DIJON, 1491

This same year printing was carried on for the first time at Dijon, the capital of the duchy of Burgundy, the Cistercian Abbot, Jean de Cirey

(*Joannes de Cireyo*), calling in a printer, Peter Metlinger, a native of Augsburg in Germany, late student of the University of Basel.[1] Metlinger, with his workmen and printing material, was lodged in the guest-house of the order called Petits Citeaux, in the Rue Saint Philibert at Dijon, and from here he issued in July the *Constitutiones et Privilegia ordinis Cisterciensis*, a quarto volume of 198 leaves, with two large wood-cuts at the beginning, and peculiar ornamental letters engraved by Wilhelm, one of his companions.[2] Metlinger had amongst his craftsmen the son-in-law of Hans Amerbach, printer at Basel, known to us only by the name of 'Johannes de Bisuncio,' who very likely had been working with him at Besançon and at Dôle, where he had practised his art before his arrival at Dijon. The secretary of the abbot Conrad of Leonberg (*Leontorius*) was corrector to the new Cistercian press. The types engraved and cast at Basel were the same as the letters used by Hans Amerbach.[3] The book was compiled and printed privately for the special use of the order. All copies were to be authenticated with the signature of Conrad, the secretary and corrector, on the

[1] Peter Metlinger (*Petrus Metlinger de Augusta*) is inscribed in the Matriculation Register of the Students at Basel in October 1461, under the rectorate of Hans Creutzer, with other countrymen, Johann Metlinger, Bartholomew Metlinger, probably his brothers or cousins, and Johann Stepringer. In 1465, under the decanate of Pelagius Spiser de Cella Episcopali (Bischofzell in Thurgau), he was received bachelor in the faculty of arts '*in viâ modernâ*' (*Matricula Studiosorum* i. fol. 81, *recto*).

[2] Wilhelm is mentioned in a letter of Conrad, the secretary of the abbot, to Hans Amerbach, printer at Basel, as '*Guilielmum incisorem istum* (*quo enim alio nomine dicam nescio*).' The letter is subscribed from Dijon on the Calends (1st) of May 1491.

[3] We have evidence of this in a letter of Conrad Leontorius, written in 1504 (*noctu altera post Reminiscere*), in which he sends to his friend Amerbach books to be bound. 'One is the *Margarita poetica* recently printed by you (*illum* [*librum*] *tu nuper formis effigiasti*). The other is named the *Privileges* (*Alter autem Privilegia se nominat*). This other I had printed a long time ago at Dijon in France, by Peter the priest of Augsburg, with your types, as I remember (*Alterum ego jam dudum Divione intra Gallias per Petrum illum*

last page. They were to be kept secret and not to be communicated, given, or sold unless to Cistercian convents, as recommended in a prefatory letter of the abbot. The colophon mentions expressly that the book was printed at the expense of the latter: '*Opera et impensa Reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Johannis abbatis Cistercii sacre theologie eximii professoris ad omnium sui sacratissimi ordinis filiorum consolationem et profectum hoc opus plurium summorum pontificum privilegiorum quibus dictus sacer ordo Cisterciensis amplissime contra omnes injurias et insultus* [*sic*] *privilegiatus est et munitus; emendatissime et integerrime impressum Divione per magistrum Petrum Metlinger Alemannum. Anno domini M . cccc . nonagesimo primo . iiij . Nonas Julias.*' Copies of the *Privilegia* are to be found in the British Museum, and in many public libraries of the Continent.

Another much rarer book, unknown to most bibliographers, was printed the following year at the Cistercian press of Dijon. This is a dialogue or disputation of Mafeo Vegio with the title: '*Mafei Vegii sua etate oratorum principis inter inferiora corpora puta aurum et terram et superiora presertim solem elegantissima simul et iocundissima disputatio.*' The first letter M is in the shape of the peculiar initials engraved by Wilhelm the woodcutter to the press. The pamphlet, a quarto of only nineteen printed leaves, was printed at the request

sacerdotem augustensem tuis ut credo litteris exprimere feci).' We see the learned secretary, in the printing-house at Dijon in June, writing to Amerbach, '*Non offenderis litturis istis. Scis enim inter impressores ubi hoc scribo vix meliori atramento scribi posse. Divione xj Kalendas julias anno Christi* 1491.' All these interesting particulars, with many others which we will shortly publish, are to be found in the MS. correspondence of Amerbach, preserved at Basel in the University Library.

of the abbot: '*Ad postulationem Reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini Johannis de Divione Cisterciensis abbatis, impressum Divione, anno domini M . cccc . lxxxxij . die vero quarto mensis augusti*,' John of Dijon being the same as John of Cirey. Although the name of Metlinger does not appear in the colophon, it is certain that he was the printer of the pamphlet, the type being identical in all respects.[1] A copy of this last impression is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, another one is in the Public Library at Bourges. A third copy, wanting the last leaves, is in the Town Library of Rodez. There is no copy at Dijon, nor anywhere in Burgundy, to our knowledge.

X. PRESS OF THE CHAPTER OR ARCHBISHOP OF NARBONNE, 1491

Passing now to the south of France we find that in 1491 the cloister of the cathedral of Saint Just at Narbonne had a printer within its walls, a breviary being issued there at the end of October. This is a thick volume of 520 leaves, printed in red and black, in double columns, and ends with the following colophon: '*Explicit breviarium ad usum sancte Narbonensis ecclesie. Impressum Narbone in claustro Sancti Justi, anno domini millesimo quadragentesimo nonagesimo primo. Completum ultima octobris ejusdem anni.*' The text was revised by Raoul Boissel (*Radulphus Boisselli*), master in arts and theology, canon and vicar-general of the

[1] Panzer (*Annales typographici*, ii. p. 376, No. 3*) mentions an edition of *Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, fol., as printed at Dijon, by Metlinger without date. We have seen copies of the book in the Public Library at Besançon and in the Royal Library at Brussels. It has no imprint, and even if the type be similar to the large type of the *Privilegia Cistercensia*, as asserted in the Crevenna Catalogue from which the information is derived, this does not prove that it is printed by Metlinger. The *Boetius* is printed at Basel by Hasn Amerbach, who had supplied the printing material of Dijon.

archbishop, François d'Amboise. The unique copy known is printed on vellum and belongs to the Public Library of Narbonne. A facsimile of the colophon and of the lines mentioning the share taken by the Canon Boissel in the publication, is presented in Thierry-Poux (*op. cit.* Plate xxxvii. No. 7). The printer is unknown. The types probably came from Lyons, and were hired for the occasion, but we have not yet found any evidence whereby to identify them.

XI. PRESS OF THE MONASTERY OF CLUNY, 1492

We have now to return to Burgundy, where in 1492 the abbot of the celebrated monastery of Cluny, Jacques d'Amboise, made a contract with Michael Wenssler, late printer at Basel, for printing a certain number of missals and breviaries. Wenssler came to Cluny bringing with him a press and the necessary material. He printed within the abbey precincts, and finished in 1493 the well-known folio missal, printed, as he declares in the colophon, *plus affectu devotionis quam lucrandi causa.* In reality Wenssler, one of the early printers of Basel, had not succeeded in his printing business. Most of his puncheons, matrices, and types had been sold to pay his debts, and he may have been glad to have some jobbing-work to do, however badly paid. The large black-letter type employed for the missal of the order of Cluny did not belong to Wenssler. He hired it at Lyons. A breviary was also printed at Cluny before the missal. It is executed with a small Gothic, the last that Wenssler had in use at Basel in 1492, when he printed an octavo volume, the work of Armandus de Bellovisu, entitled *Compendium difficilium terminorum theologie,*

Philosophie, atque Logice declarativum, dated March 1491 (1492, new style). The breviary of Cluny has no imprint or colophon. We learn from the headlines that a breviary for the use of Cluny had been printed previously in 1478 by order of Jean de Bourbon, abbot at the time, and that the present one was reprinted from it: '*Sunt autem eadem breviaria a novo impressa sub reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino, domino Jacobo de Amboysia predicti monasterii abbate. Anno domini M. cccc. xcij*'.[1] No printer's name is given in the breviary, but there cannot be any doubt that it is the work of Wenssler, the types being his own, the same that he employed at Basel this very year, and afterwards at Mâcon in 1494, where he stopped, when he left Cluny, to print a *Diurnale Matisconense* at the expense of a merchant of that city.[2] After the impression of the breviary, as he had no missal types to print the missal, he borrowed or hired them from Mathieu Husz, printer at Lyons.[3]

Two copies of the breviary of Cluny, a book hitherto unknown to bibliographers, have been discovered within the last few years. One is in the liturgical collection of the late Duke of Villafranca, another in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is an octavo volume of 436 leaves, printed in double columns. At least five copies of the missal are known. One is in the Town Library at Cluny, a second is in the Public Library at Lyons, a third in the University Library at Basel, a fourth in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and a fifth, sold a few

[1] See A. Claudin, *Origines de l'imprimerie à Albi en Languedoc*, Paris, 1880, pp. 67-68, foot-note.

[2] The *Diurnale Matisconense*, the first book printed at Mâcon, is dated 10th of March 1493 (1494, new style).

[3] The *Breviarium Cluniacense* of 1478 is printed at Venice. It is a beautiful book. A copy has been recently purchased for the Bibliothèque Nationale.

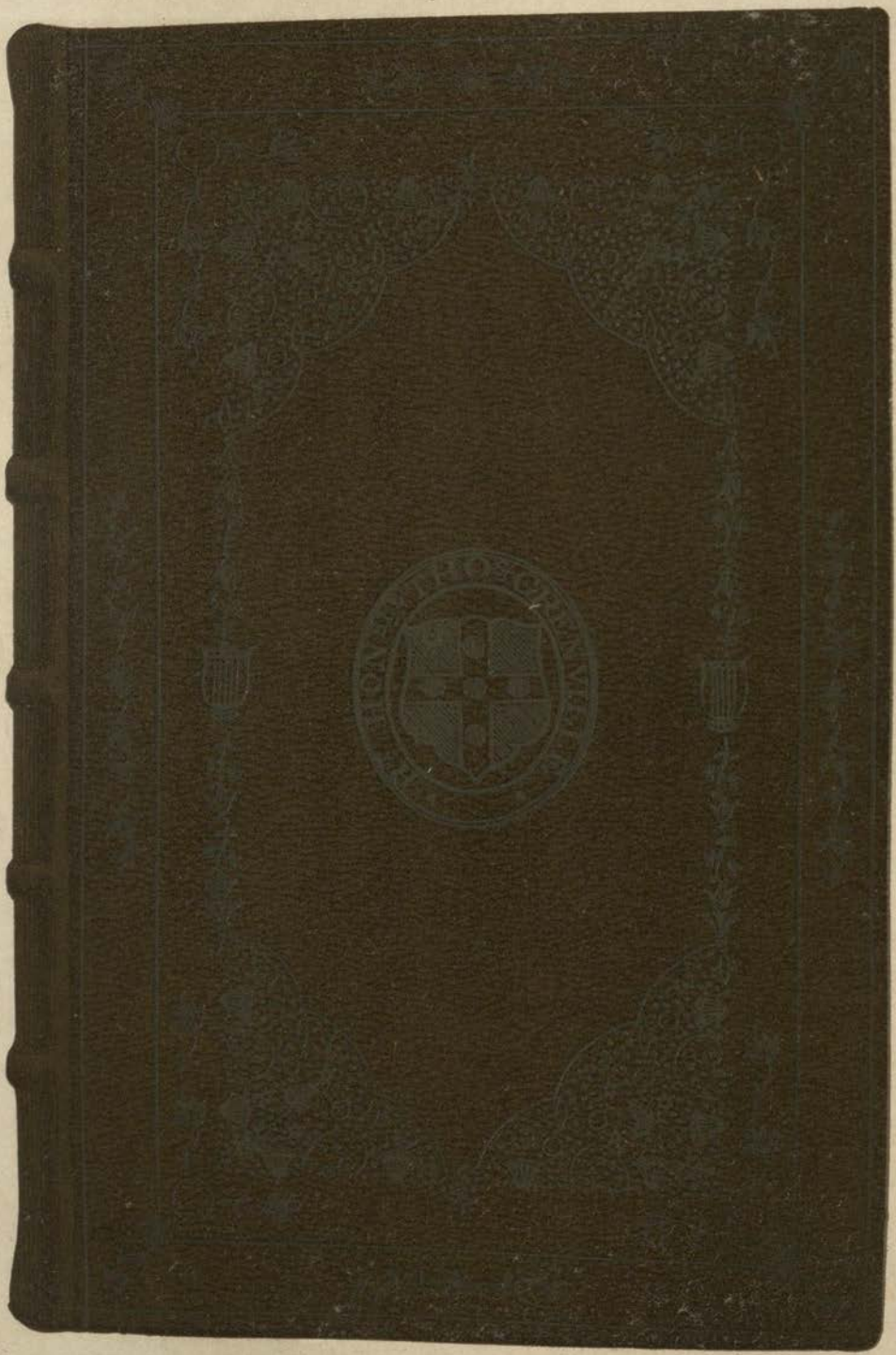
months ago at an auction in Lyons, is at present in a private library. The fly-leaves of this last copy are composed of waste leaves of the same missal, printed on vellum, which seems to prove that some vellum copies were printed. The Cluny missal has 318 leaves; the breviary 436. Facsimiles of both impressions are to be found in Thierry-Poux, Plate xxxvii. Nos. 8 and 9.

To conclude, eleven private presses are known to have been at work in France during the fifteenth century; and we may summarise the information we have given about them in a single list.

1. PARIS.—At the Sorbonne, the first press established in the French kingdom. *Patrons*, Guillaume Fichet, Johann Heylin, *alias* La Pierre, and Cardinal Rolin, bishop of Autun. *Printers*, Michael Friburger, Ulrich Gering, and Martin Crantz (1470-1473).
2. POITIERS.—In the parish of Saint Hilaire-le-Grand. *Patron*, Bertrand de Brossa, canon, precentor, counsellor, and master of the rolls to the king. *Printers*, Jehan Bouyer and Stephen des Grez (1479-1482).
3. METZ.—*Patrons and printers*, Jehan Colin and Gerard de Villeneuve of the Carmelite order (1482).
4. CHARTRES.—In the canon-house. *Patron*, Pierre Plumé, canon. *Printer*, Jehan Du Pré (1482-1483).
5. BREHAN-LOUDEAC. — *Patron*, Jehan de Rohan, lord of Du Gué de Lisle. *Printers*, Robin Foucquet and Jehan Cres (1484-1485).
6. ABBEY OF LANTENAC.—*Patron*, Jehan de Rohan. *Printer*, Jehan Cres (1487-1492).

7. EMBRUN. — In the archiepiscopal palace. *Patron*, the archbishop. *Printer*, Jacques le Rouge (1489-90).
8. GOUPILLIÈRES.—In the residence of a priest. *Patron and Printer*, Michael Andrieu (1491).
9. DIJON.—In the guest-house of Petits Citeaux. *Patron*, Jehan de Cirey, abbot of Citeaux. *Printer*, Peter Metlinger (1491-1492).
10. NARBONNE.—In the cloister of the cathedral of Saint Just. *Patron*, the chapter of St. Just or the archbishop. *Printer*, unknown.
11. MONASTERY OF CLUNY.—In the precincts of the monastery. *Patron*, Jehan d'Amboise, general of the order of Cluny. *Printer*, Michael Wenssler of Basel.

A. CLAUDIN.



ROGER PAYNE AND HIS INDEBTEDNESS TO MEARNE

ABOUT the middle of the eighteenth-century the art of bookbinding in England was at a singularly low ebb. The influence of Samuel Mearne had lasted long after his death, but on the accession of the Hanoverian line to the throne of England, it appears to have suddenly declined, and the early Georgian bindings cannot be considered much better than trade productions of a high class. About 1766, however, Roger Payne, a native of Windsor, came to London, and worked for Thomas Osborne, the bookseller, in Gray's Inn. On leaving Osborne's, somewhere about 1770, Payne set up for himself as a bookbinder in the neighbourhood of Leicester Square, and for a short time had his brother as a partner. When this arrangement came to an end Payne worked with Richard Wier, whose wife was a celebrated mender of books, and repairer and inlayer of paper. Wier's influence on Payne was in one way disastrous, as his intemperate habits were only too congenial with those Payne himself had already formed. Technically, however, it was probably more beneficial. Payne bound so many old books that dates of imprint give little or no help in fixing the dates at which the books were bound; but it seems probable that the finest and most characteristic of his bindings were executed during his partnership with Wier, and all this work is characteristically English. French bindings of the seventeenth century could have furnished excellent

models for Payne to work from; but as far as I have been able to judge, any French motive that can be found on his bindings has come through Samuel Mearne.

It may be remembered by readers of my previous article in this volume of *Bibliographica* that Mearne had two distinct styles in decorating the sides of books. The simpler of the two consisted of an inner panel parallel with the edges of the boards, ornamented with a fleuron or other ornament at the outer corners; his finer bindings were all amplifications of the cottage design. The first of these two styles is that which was adopted by Payne, both for his simpler and finer bindings; and many of them, in this also resembling Mearne's, make up for the simplicity of their covers by the elaborate ornament on their backs. Taking the rectangular line as a starting-point, we find in Payne's work additional ornamentation in the form of beautiful and very delicately stamped corners, angle-pieces of decorative work, with now and then ornamental designs filling, or nearly filling, the space between the outer edge of the book and the inner panel. The centres of the boards are usually left vacant, but in the British Museum there are many instances in which the space is charmingly occupied by the beautiful and delicately engraved coat-of-arms of the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, who frequently employed Payne to bind his more precious books.

I had hoped, for the purposes of this paper, to have been able also to examine the large number of Payne's bindings which were originally in the library of Earl Spencer at Althorp, and now belong to Mrs. Rylands of Manchester. Unfortunately this library is now in course of arrangement,

and all access to it seems impossible. But from the examples of Roger Payne's bindings in the British Museum, it is easy to prove that in several instances Payne has distinctly copied stamps which were originally designed and used by Samuel Mearne. The examples here figured—those of Mearne being taken from my previous illustrations of his stamps—will show the way in which Payne adapted Mearne's stamps, altering them to suit his own taste. Besides these three, there are also several smaller stamps, which may have been suggested by an examination of some of Mearne's finer bindings. Many of these are small flowers, and in every case Mearne's straight stems are turned into wavy ones by Payne. Among others a small stamp of an acorn occurs, with slight differences, in the work of both binders; and a circular-petalled flower, frequently coloured black by Mearne, is found again in Payne's work, but with a stalk and leaves. In many instances the inner corners of Mearne's cottage roof designs are filled with a delicate and rich ornamentation produced by small stamps, the effect being heightened by the extensive use of very small dots, stars, and circles. This peculiarity was evidently noticed and admired by Payne, as he produces his effects, both in the inner corners of his bindings and in the panels of the backs of many of his books, in the same way, using his own small graceful flower-sprays with the dots, stars, and rings.

MEARNE. PAYNE.

All Payne's stamps are small, some of them very small. The largest of them is a modification of the lowest curve illustrated above, the outer part alone

being used. This curve was evidently a favourite one with Payne, as modifications of it occur in many places, and it is used both in gold and blind, and in several sizes. The leather that Payne uses is always excellent, and the impressions made from his most delicately cut stamps, many of which are said to have been made of iron, are very beautiful. Their delicacy and charm has never, I think, been exceeded by the work of any finisher. Payne seems to have had no assistance in the forwarding or the finishing of his books. We gather this, not only from the elaborate notes which so frequently accompany his bindings, but also from the strong evidence of the workmanship of one and the same hand in all the bindings which may be safely attributed to him. The same thing cannot be said of Samuel Mearne, as there is little doubt that many of the bindings—the designs and stamps for which were certainly inspired by himself, or by the unknown foreman for whose work he gets the credit—were bound by the hands of assistants. Although Mearne's leathers are all very good, they are not, as a rule, so fine as Roger Payne's. The smooth olive morocco used sometimes by the latter, is perhaps, at its finest, the most perfect leather that can possibly be used for stamping in gold. Payne himself declares in one of his notes that he has taken the greatest trouble to make fine impressions from his stamps; that he has impressed them in blind first, and afterwards gone over them more than once with gold; and, indeed, it is abundantly evident that he spared himself no trouble or time in his endeavours to make any binding on which he was engaged as perfect in every way as he could.

Although *doublures* are known in English binding at an early date, the two great English binders,

Thomas Berthelet and Samuel Mearne, who preceded Roger Payne, appear to have made little or no use of them. Indeed, Roger Payne may be considered the first English binder who paid much attention to the insides of his boards. Scottish books, of a period shortly anterior to Payne's time, often had fine *doublures* all of leather. Payne's, as far as I know them, are formed of a border of leather, sometimes narrow, sometimes broad, with a paper centre. The same beautiful finish is to be found on these *doublures* as on the outsides of the books. Often, indeed, they are the more decorative of the two, and for taste and beauty of finish they have never been surpassed.

Payne died 20th November 1797, after working at his binding to the very last. He left a good deal of work unfinished, and it is probable that Charles Hering finished most of it for him. Charles Lewis, Kalthoeber, who bound many books for George III., and Charles Hering all imitated Payne very closely. Probably they had several of his actual stamps, and they doubtless cut others after his manner. But, although their work in detail very closely resembles that of the master, the general appearance of their books is never quite satisfactory, and the beauty of the impressions of the stamps is no longer apparent. The quality of the leather, again, is never the same. Payne had other imitators, and was indeed the only Englishman to whom the binders of France and Germany have paid the compliment of imitation. He himself was certainly happy in the chance which led him to take his own inspiration from the work of Samuel Mearne. On the other hand, it cannot be disputed that he so improved upon his model as to entitle him to rank as one of the three great masters of binding we have produced

in England. It may fairly be said, moreover, that while Berthelet certainly borrowed many of his ideas from Italian sources, and Mearne was no less indebted to Le Gascon, Payne stands alone in having borrowed only from another Englishman. I trust that some day an exhaustive study will be made of all the work he has left us; for the more carefully it is studied, the more highly, I am sure, will it be esteemed.

The binding of the Grenville copy of the *Greek Anthology*, printed at Venice in 1550, of which a coloured plate is here given, is in smooth olive morocco. The book measures only six and a quarter inches in length, and the binding is charmingly decorated with small stamps and lines in Payne's best manner. The stamps contained in the angle-pieces are all most delicately cut and skilfully arranged. Among them is the arabesque curl with dots that is shown in the upper stamp illustrating Payne's imitations of Samuel Mearne. Besides this there is a stamp of a shell-pattern, and one of a small bunch of grapes, the ground being filled in with stars, circles, dots, leaves, and flowers.

The corner-pieces are connected at the sides by a line of conventional flower-stamps with a lyre in the middle, and between the outer angles of the corner-pieces and the inner angles of the outer border are large circles from which spring curving flower-sprays.

The outer border, enclosed between straight lines, has floral stamps at each corner and in the middle of each side, top and bottom.

The fine stamp of the lyre is on the panels of the back which are not already occupied with lettering.

The doublures and joints are of the same leather as the outside of the book, arranged as a broad border with an inner panel of dull pink paper. In the centre of each side, on the leather, is impressed the lyre stamp, surrounded with eight small stamps and dots; the mitre lines at each corner are thickly marked with a mass of small glittering stamps, small flowers, and dots, and the edges of the leather border are lined in gold.

CYRIL DAVENPORT.

RICHARD TOTTEL

RICHARD TOTTEL is known, at least by name, to all students of English literature, as the printer and publisher of *Tottel's Miscellany*. But several other notable books came from his press. He was the great law-printer of the second half of the sixteenth century. He was one of the Masters of the Company of Stationers, and, amongst other things, made some attempt towards establishing paper-mills in England. A brief sketch of the work of this famous 'citizen and stationer' of London will, I hope, prove not uninteresting.

Nothing is known of Tottel until 1553, when he published, from the sign of the 'Hand and Star' in Fleet Street, a small quarto, entitled *The Historie of Quintus Curcius*, 'conteyning the Actes of the greate Alexander translated out of Latine into Englishe by I. Brende.'

According to some authorities Tottel received his patent for law-books in this year, and the British Museum certainly possesses a copy of the *Natura Brevium* with this date. On the other hand the Registers of the Stationers' Company declare that he received the patent in the 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary (*i.e.* 1555-1556).

In 1554 we find Tottel printing a folio edition of Lydgate's *Falle of Princes*, a work first printed by Pynson in 1494, and again in 1527. This third edition is the first large book of Tottel's we come across, and places him in the first rank as a printer. The title, a lengthy one, is enclosed in a decorative

border, which bears in the lower panel the initials E. W., showing that it had either been borrowed or bought from Edward Whitchurch. The text is printed in double columns, in black-letter, not new but in very fair condition. Running titles and foliation are supplied, and each of the books into which the work was divided is headed with one of the wood-cuts from Pynson's editions.

In the following year Tottel issued an edition of Stephen Hawes's poem, *The Historie of graunde Amoure and la bell Pucel called the Pastime of Pleasure*. This allegory, originally printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509, had been reprinted for the first time, only the previous year, by John Wayland, who lived close to Tottel, at the sign of the 'Blewe Garland.' It is possible that Tottel's publication was a matter of arrangement with his neighbour, or it may have been an attempt to secure a share of the popular favour accorded to the book. In the same year he reprinted Andrew Borde's *Introduction to Knowledge*, which had previously been issued by William Copland, and a work entitled the *Commentaries of Don Lewes de Avela*, translated into English by John Wilkinson, another scholar of whom little is known.

The year 1556 witnessed the incorporation by Royal Charter of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, and Tottel is recorded as having given ten shillings towards the expenses. Again, in 1557, he paid for a new window in the hall. But in the same year he gave to the world a greater gift by the publication of the little volume of verse known as *Tottel's Miscellany*, which the late Professor Morley, in his *English Writers*, happily described as 'a brake from which there arose a pleasant carolling,' a prelude to the great outburst of Elizabethan song.

The proper title of the work was *Songes and Sonnettes*, 'written by the Ryght Honorable Lorde Henry Hawarde, late Earl of Surrey, and other. Apud Richardum Tottel, 1557. Cum privilegio.'

The 'other' in this title included Sir Thomas Wyat, Thomas Churchyard, Thomas Lord Vaux, John Heywood, and Nicholas Grimald, the editor. This first edition was a very unpretentious quarto, without any beauty of typography to prepare us for the beauty of its contents. Tottel, however, himself drew attention in a short preface to the grace of the verse which, he said, proved that Englishmen could write quite as good poetry as the Italians.

In the second edition, which appeared on July 31st in the same year, the number of poems was increased from 271 to 280, and some changes made in the selection. A third edition appeared from Tottel's press in 1559, a fourth in 1565, and others in 1567, 1574, 1585, and 1587; in all, eight editions during Elizabeth's reign.

Another poet, of a very different order from those whose works filled the *Miscellany*, sought Tottel's aid in 1557. This was Thomas Tusser, a Suffolk farmer, who rhymed about country life and husbandry in doggrel verse. His first attempt was a quarto of thirteen leaves entitled *A Hundreth good pointes of husbandrie*. Fourteen years later this became *A hundreth good points of husbandrie, lately maried unto a hundreth good points of Huswifery*, and so propitious was the union that, two years later, he burst upon the world with *Five hundreth points of good husbandry, united to as many of good huswiferie*, 'first devised and now lately augmented with diverse approved lessons concerning hopps and gardening, and other needfull matters, together with an abstract before every

moneth, conteining the whole effect of the said moneth.' This also came from Tottel's press, and another edition was called for in the same year and others in 1574 and 1577, so that Tusser's rhyming maxims and bits of folklore must have been widely read.

A much more important undertaking of the year 1557 was the printing of the collected edition of the 'Works' of Sir Thomas More. The colophon tells us that this was 'Imprinted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the hande and starre, at the cost and charge of John Cawood, John Walley, and Richard Tottle. Finished in Apryll, the year of our Lorde God 1577.' From this it would appear that John Cawood, who was the Royal Printer and lived at the sign of the Holy Ghost in St. Paul's Churchyard, was the principal shareholder in the undertaking, the whole impression being printed by Tottel. The book was a large folio of 1458 pages, well printed in a clear well-cut black-letter, in double columns of sixty lines to the column, with various other founts (notably a good italic) for the Dedication, headings to chapters, and so forth. Cawood seems to have lent Tottel the large wood-cut initials used in the book, and may also have supplied the type.

The editor of this collection was William Rastell, son of John Rastell the printer, and nephew of the great Chancellor, a zealous Roman Catholic, and an eminent lawyer, who had been rewarded for his loyalty, upon the accession of Queen Mary, by being made a Serjeant-at-Law. The work was dedicated to the Queen, and Rastell's 'Dedication,' in spite of its flattery of Her Majesty, gives a well-written review of the life and work of More. But within a few months William Rastell was again a

fugitive, and Richard Tottel is found printing an account of the brilliant pageant that took place in the streets of London on the day preceding the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. This little tract is entitled *The Passage of our most drad Soueraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London to Westminster the day before her coronation*, and is very well got up. The title is printed in italic within a decorative border, at one time in the possession of Richard Grafton, whose initials and mark are in the lower section. The text was printed in black letter, with Roman and italic intermixed.

The year 1561 saw Tottel one of the Wardens of the Stationers' Company with William Seres, and busy with the publication of law-books. In the following year he printed a curious work on heraldry, the *Accedens of Armory*, written by one Gerard Legh. This is a rather thick octavo, with an elaborate allegorical title-page, several full-page illustrations, and a number of coats of arms. The type used throughout is the large italic seen in the works of Sir Thomas More. The *Accedens* was popular enough to call for reprints in 1568, 1576, and 1591, and even as late as 1612.

Richard Grafton had been deprived of his office of Royal Printer, for printing the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey, and since that time had devoted himself to historical studies, the outcome of which was the publication by Tottel, in 1563, in octavo form, of *An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England*, 'gathered by R. Grafton, citizen of London,' of which there was another edition in 1564. Another notable citizen of London was also busy on similar work at this time, and sore strife arose between John Stow and Grafton over their respective *Abridgements* and *Summaries*, but neither

could complain of neglect on the part of the public. The popular taste, however, was equally ready to welcome lighter literature in the form of poem, plays, and romances. Thus, in 1566, we find Tottel, in conjunction with W. Jones, acting as publisher for Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, a collection of tales from the Italian, which was printed for them by Henry Denham. The next year Tottel himself printed a third edition, 'enlarged by T. Paulfreyman,' of William Baldwin's *Treatise of Morall Phylosophye contaynyng the sayinges of the wise*; which had been previously published by Whitchurch in 1547 and 1550. Tottel's edition is by no means a good specimen of his work. In 1568 he printed, in conjunction with Marshe, Sir Thomas North's translation, *The Dial of Princes*, from the 'Libro Aureo' attributed to Marcus Aurelius, the work of Antonio de Guevara. 1569 saw the publication of Grafton's *Chronicle at large*, printed by Henry Denham for Tottel and Humphrey Toye.

It was some four or five years after this that Richard Tottel wrote to Lord Burghley on the subject of his scheme for a paper-mill. In this letter he pointed out that printers were compelled to use paper 'made in France,' and that a previous effort on his part to establish a paper-mill in England had been frustrated by the faint-hearted desertion of his partners, who were frightened by the ill-success of all previous attempts. Tottel now offered to establish a paper-mill in England provided the Government would grant the necessary land, put a stop to the exportation of rags, and give him the sole privilege of making paper for thirty years (*Arber*, vol. i. p. 242). The application, however, was unsuccessful.

In 1578 Tottel became Master of the Company

of Stationers, and in 1582 when a return was made to the Bishop of London of all the printers, and the number of their presses, in the city of London, he was found to have three, but only one in use.

By far the best of his work as a printer is to be found in his law-books. These included not only year-books and collections of the statutes, but such works as Bracton's *De Legibus*, 1569, the *Book of Precedents*, 1559, etc.; Fitzherbert's *Grande Abridgement*, 1565 and 1577; Perkin's *Book of the Laws of the Realm*, 1555-1593; Saint Germain's *Dialogue betwyxt a Doctoure of Dyvynyte and a Student in the Lawes of England*, 1569 and 1580; Stanford's *Leo Plees del Coron*, 1560-1583, and many others.

As a specimen of printing, the edition of the *Grande Abridgement* which Tottel produced in 1573, a folio of many hundred closely-printed pages, is an excellent specimen of his work. The title is enclosed in an architectural border, with the letters R T at the foot. The type in which the text is printed is a small, neat black-letter, with numerous contractions, and each of the two books begins with a large pictorial initial letter, previously used in some edition of the Bible.

Tottel did not die until 1593, but for some years previously he had taken but little active part in business, having fallen into ill-health, and living most of his time in the country. The reversion of his patent for law-books had been given to one of the foreign printers settled in England, Charles Yetsweirt, who died about the same time, the reversion passing to his widow, Jane Yetsweirt.

Tottel's device was a hand grasping a star; but it is very rarely met with, most of his books finishing with a colophon only.

H. R. PLOMER.

Ezechiel
Jeremias
Samuel
Sicut ouis ad occasionē ductus est et dum
Ego autē quasi agnus mansuet q̄ portat ad
v. ligna ferēs xp̄c te
p̄signat putrisse
fere crucis hoc
signū xp̄c re
putans sibi dignū. Mistica
st̄ signa crucis vidue duo ligna

XVI.

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

ON A MANUSCRIPT OF THE 'BIBLIA PAUPERUM'

MANY have written on the subject of the block-book known as the 'Biblia Pauperum,' the first of those interesting links between the art of wood-engraving and the art of printing; but there is no exhaustive work which has carefully traced the origin and gradual development of the series of Biblical illustrations of which it is composed. And the reason of this failure seems chiefly to be due to the lack of material. That the 'Biblia Pauperum'—restricting that term to the 'picture-book' of which we are speaking, and not including literary Biblical epitomes, such as the 'Biblia Pauperum' of Alexander de Villa Dei—was at one period of the Middle Ages a work of wide popularity, at least in Germany and the Low Countries, cannot be doubted. Its selection as the first work to be multiplied for general use by the new invention of printing by means of engraved blocks proves that early in the fifteenth century it was a favourite work. But the number of surviving manuscript copies both of that time and of the preceding centuries is singularly small. Its earlier copies seem to have shared the fate of those of other

FIG. 1.—GROUP FROM THE ANTIPENDIUM OF KLOSTERNEUBURG

popular works in having been used up by general wear and tear; and, when it came to be printed, the block-book impressions disappeared from the same cause, leaving the scanty number now extant to be treasured in the different public libraries of Europe as invaluable landmarks in the history of printing.

It is needless here to enlarge on the extent to which religious teaching was imparted in the Middle Ages by means of pictorial representation. Every other illuminated book that we open, every other old church that we enter, reminds us of it. And as early as the twelfth century we find the events of Our Lord's Life and other scenes from the New Testament illustrated pictorially by parallel scenes, or types, from the Old Testament.[1] The 'Biblia Pauperum,' as given in the block-book, is the outcome of this idea, in an elaborate state, the New Testament scene forming the central design, to be illustrated typically by two parallel incidents drawn from Old Testament history. The earliest example of this triple arrangement of scenes from the Bible appears to be afforded by the beautiful series of enamels which once formed the antipendium or altar-front, and which is now placed above the altar, in the Leopold Chapel of Klosterneuburg in Austria. The whole composition contains fifty-one subjects, forty-five of them being the work of Nicolas of Verdun, executed under the direction of Abbot Werner in 1181; the remaining six being added in the year 1329, when the anti-

[1] See an article, *Livres d'Images destinés à l'instruction religieuse et aux exercices de piété des laïques*, contributed by Monsieur Léopold Delisle to the *Histoire Littéraire de France*, tome xxxi., pp. 213-285. In Plate 37 of the *Album Paléographique, par la Société de l'École des Chartes*, Paris 1887, there are reproduced two pages from manuscripts having illustrations of this character, of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The earlier manuscript is in three volumes, one of which is in the British Museum, Harleian MS., 1526-1527. There is also another similar manuscript in the Museum, Add. MS. 18,719, of about the year 1300.

pendium was moved to its present position. This great work is of such importance for the early history of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' that, for the purpose of comparison, we may spare a few lines to briefly describing its subjects.[1] They are arranged by threes, placed vertically, the scenes from the New Testament being the central subjects; and, of each group, the first subject represents a scene 'ante Legem,' the second, 'sub Gracia,' and the third, 'sub Lege.' Of the forty-five original enamels, thirty-nine follow the course of the Life of Our Lord in thirteen groups; but the last six form two groups which depart from the plan of typical illustration, and are connected with the Last Judgment. Of the thirteen typically-arranged groups, it is interesting to find that three are repeated in the block-book: the Last Supper is accompanied by the Old Testament types of Abraham and Melchizedek, and of the Manna; the Entombment, by the scenes of Joseph in the Pit and of Jonah swallowed by the Whale; and the Ascension, by the Translation of Enoch and by Elijah in the Fiery Chariot. In each of six other groups, the antipendium agrees with the block-book in having one of the Old Testament types the same. The six enamels added in the fourteenth century form two groups, illustrating the Betrayal and the Deposition from the Cross, the former having one of the types the same as in the block-book. Like the later block-book, the antipendium also is provided with descriptive leonine hexameter verses (besides those which give the history of its execution), each one being engraved in the frame surrounding the scene

[1] It has been reproduced in facsimile: *Das Niello-antipendium zu Klosterneuburg in Österreich. In der Original-grösse lithographirt von Albert Camesina. Beschrieben und erläutert von Joseph Arneth*, Vienna, 1844.

which it describes. They are not, however, of the same version; two only, attached to two of the subjects of the group of the Betrayal, which, it is to be remembered, is part of the later work of the fourteenth century, are practically similar to the corresponding verses in the 'Biblia Pauperum.' Lastly, the antipendium and the block-book have another feature in common: the former includes three series of half-length figures of Angels, of Prophets and Patriarchs, and of Virtues, just as the central scenes of the block-book are accompanied by half-lengths of the Prophets and Patriarchs. Before leaving the beautiful altar-piece of Klosterneuburg, we place before the reader a drawing (reduced to nearly one-third of the original size) of one of Abbot Werner's enamelled groups: that of the Adoration of the Magi, with the scene of Abraham bringing tithe to Melchizedek, on the left, and with that of the Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, on the right (fig. 1).

While, however, the subjects of the antipendium of the twelfth century approach no nearer to those of the block-book than has been just explained, it is evident that, in the course of another hundred years, the full series of the scenes of the 'Biblia Pauperum' was completed; for at the beginning of the fourteenth century we find manuscripts illustrated with this fully-developed pictorial elucidation of Scripture. Two such manuscripts have been published, the first being preserved at St. Florian in the archduchy of Austria, and the second at Constance in the duchy of Baden.[1] The draw-

[1] *Die Darstellungen der Biblia Pauperum in einer Handschrift des xiv. Jahrhunderts aufbewahrt im Stifte St. Florian im Erzherzogthume Oesterreich ob der Enns*, by A. Camesina and G. Heider, Vienna, 1863; and *Biblia Pauperum nach dem Original in der Lyceums-bibliothek zu Constanz*, by Drs. Laib and Schwarz, Zürich, 1867.

ings in the manuscript of St. Florian, to judge by the facsimile reproduction, are executed with much artistic skill; those in the Constance manuscript are far inferior and are not so early, and the text is in German. The St. Florian manuscript, then, has the important distinction of being the earliest known volume containing the subjects of the 'Biblia Pauperum' in the complete form in which they appear in the block-book; and the fact that more than one copy of the series dating from the early part of the fourteenth century is extant fully justifies us in placing the period of its composition within the limits of the thirteenth century. Having once ascertained this date, we need not stay to regard the manuscripts of a later period. Such manuscripts have been referred to by various writers on the subject, but, as already noticed, they are not very numerous; some being attributed to the fourteenth century, but the majority being later. Nor are they described as works of calligraphic or artistic interest. In fact they may be fairly regarded as the survivors of an ordinary kind of book, chiefly useful as the medium for teaching the simple and unlettered, and not often needed in a sumptuous form either of illumination or of handwriting.[1]

The special object, however, of this article is to

[1] Besides the King's MS. 5 described in this article, the British Museum possesses a few other manuscripts of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' viz. Stowe MS. 7, roughly executed and coloured, of the fifteenth century; and Add. MS. 31,303, in which are fragments from two manuscripts of rude work of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The Add. MS. 15,705 is not a true 'Biblia Pauperum,' but resembles it in having scenes from Our Lord's Passion, each accompanied by two typical parallel subjects from the Old Testament; and it also has two subjects from animal life. The earliest notice of a manuscript of the 'Biblia Pauperum' is found in Heinecken's *Idée Générale d'une collection complette d'Estampes*, Leipzig, 1771, p. 329, where he describes the Wolfenbüttel MS. 5, 2. Aug., of the fourteenth century. Dr. O. von Heinemann kindly informs me that there are two other manuscripts of the work in the Ducal Library of Wolfenbüttel, viz. MS. 35. a. Helmst., and MS. 69. 6. Aug., both of the fifteenth century.

bring under notice a manuscript of the 'Biblia Pauperum' of the beginning of the fifteenth century, which, on account of its merits as an illuminated manuscript, deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. It is the King's MS. 5, and is one of the small number of manuscripts which

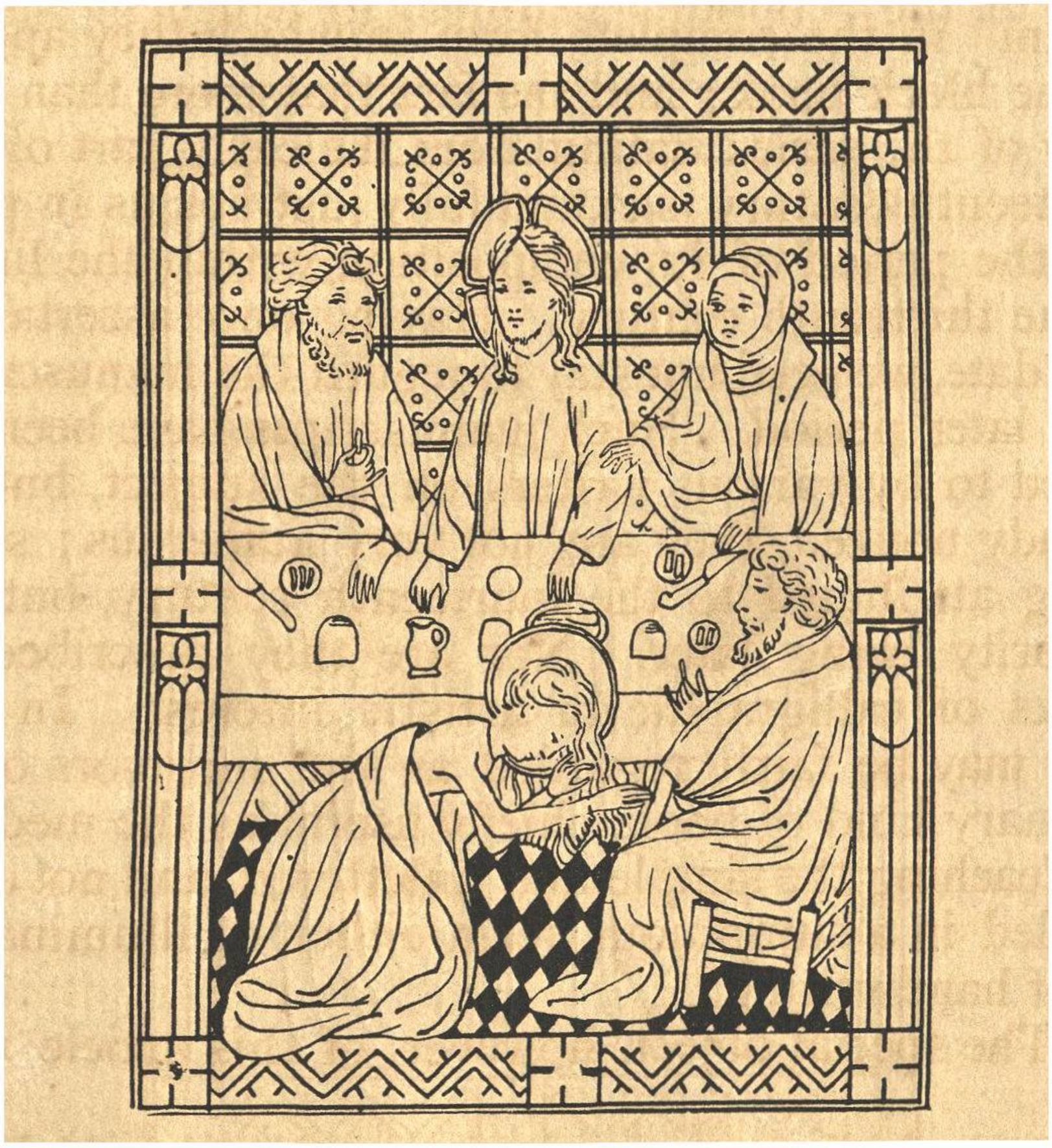


FIG. 2.—MARY MAGDALENE ANOINTING THE FEET OF CHRIST (GROUP 7)

George the Third collected in the course of the formation of his great library of printed books now in the British Museum.

There can be no uncertainty about the origin of the manuscript; the style of the art employed, and the character of the costume introduced into various miniatures, mark it as a production of the Nether-

lands in the early years of the fifteenth century. Although the drawing and painting, as in most manuscripts of this period, are unequal, yet in some instances the artist has risen far above the ordinary level, having bestowed much care on the treatment of many of the faces, and particularly on the delineation of the Saviour's features, to which he some-

FIG. 3.—JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES (GROUP 8)

times succeeds in imparting a grave nobility. In this special attention to the drawing of the human face the miniature-painting of the Netherlands has a close affinity with that of England, as there has been occasion to remark in another place (*Bibliographica*, vol. ii. p. 14). Nothing is known of the history of the manuscript before it entered George

III.'s library, the only record of earlier ownership being the name of Alexander Radclyffe inscribed in a hand of the sixteenth century.

The volume is made up of thirty-one sheets of vellum, now bound at full length and measuring $7\frac{1}{8}$ by $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and each having the obverse side occupied by one of the triple groups of paintings or miniatures, with the accompanying explanatory text. Originally the book was in a different form, each sheet having been folded in three and sewed into the covers along the first fold, which separated the miniature on the left from the central one. Thus, in each group, the first miniature appeared on the reverse side of a narrow leaf, faced by the central miniature on the obverse of a broad leaf, which also contained the third miniature, on the right, to be folded in before the book was closed. On the obverse of the narrow leaf (now the back of the first miniature) was the title of the group, *e.g.* 'Annunciatio,' 'Nativitas,' etc. The sheets are now in some disorder; and in describing the subjects it will be more convenient to follow the sequence of engravings in the block-book. Nor is the series in our manuscript complete. The block-book is composed of forty leaves; in the manuscript we have only thirty-one groups, and, without assuming that originally it contained as many as the block-book, we shall see, when the subjects are enumerated, that several are certainly wanting.

It would be unprofitable to compare the details of the miniatures with those of the woodcuts, for the two series are altogether distinct in point of art and in point of time; it is enough to state that the subjects correspond almost throughout, there being two instances only of variation: the scene of

the Death of Goliath in the block-book (xiv) taking the place of the Death of Holofernes in the manuscript; and Christ bearing the souls of the Blessed in His mantle (xxxix) being substituted for the abode of the Blessed in Heaven. The miniatures, however, enable us to detect and explain a curious

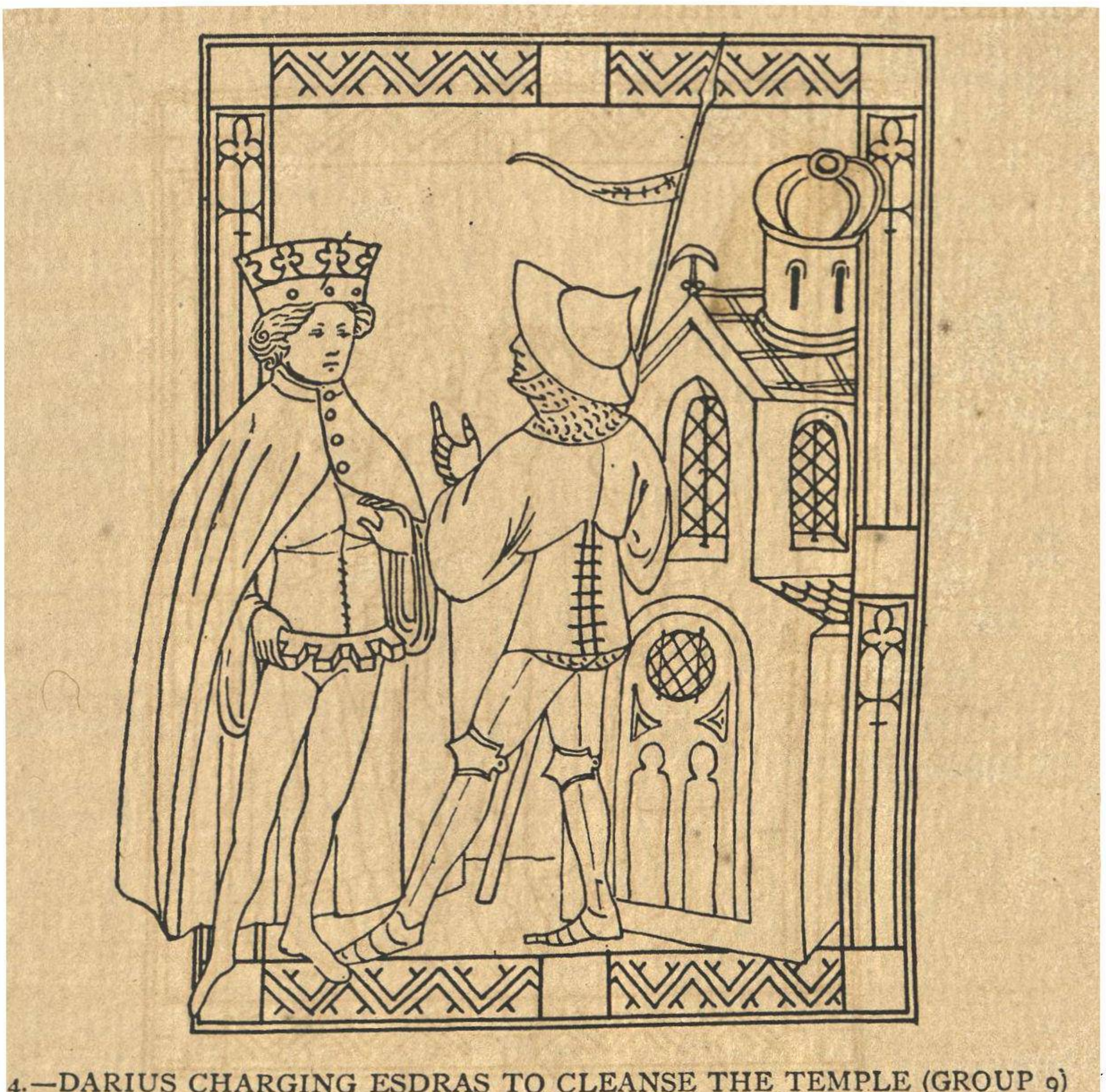


FIG. 4.—DARIUS CHARGING ESDRAS TO CLEANSE THE TEMPLE (GROUP 9)

blunder in one of the engravings, viz. that representing the budding of Aaron's rod (ii). Here we have an altar of the period, with the rod in the centre flanked on each side by three candles. The corresponding miniature properly shows the twelve rods of the twelve 'houses' of Israel, ranged in a row upon the altar. The engraver of the block-

book evidently failed to consult his Bible, and, perhaps not unnaturally, converted the superfluous rods into the candles which he was accustomed to see in that position.

More variations are to be found in the leonine verses which describe the different scenes: some of those in the manuscript are different from those

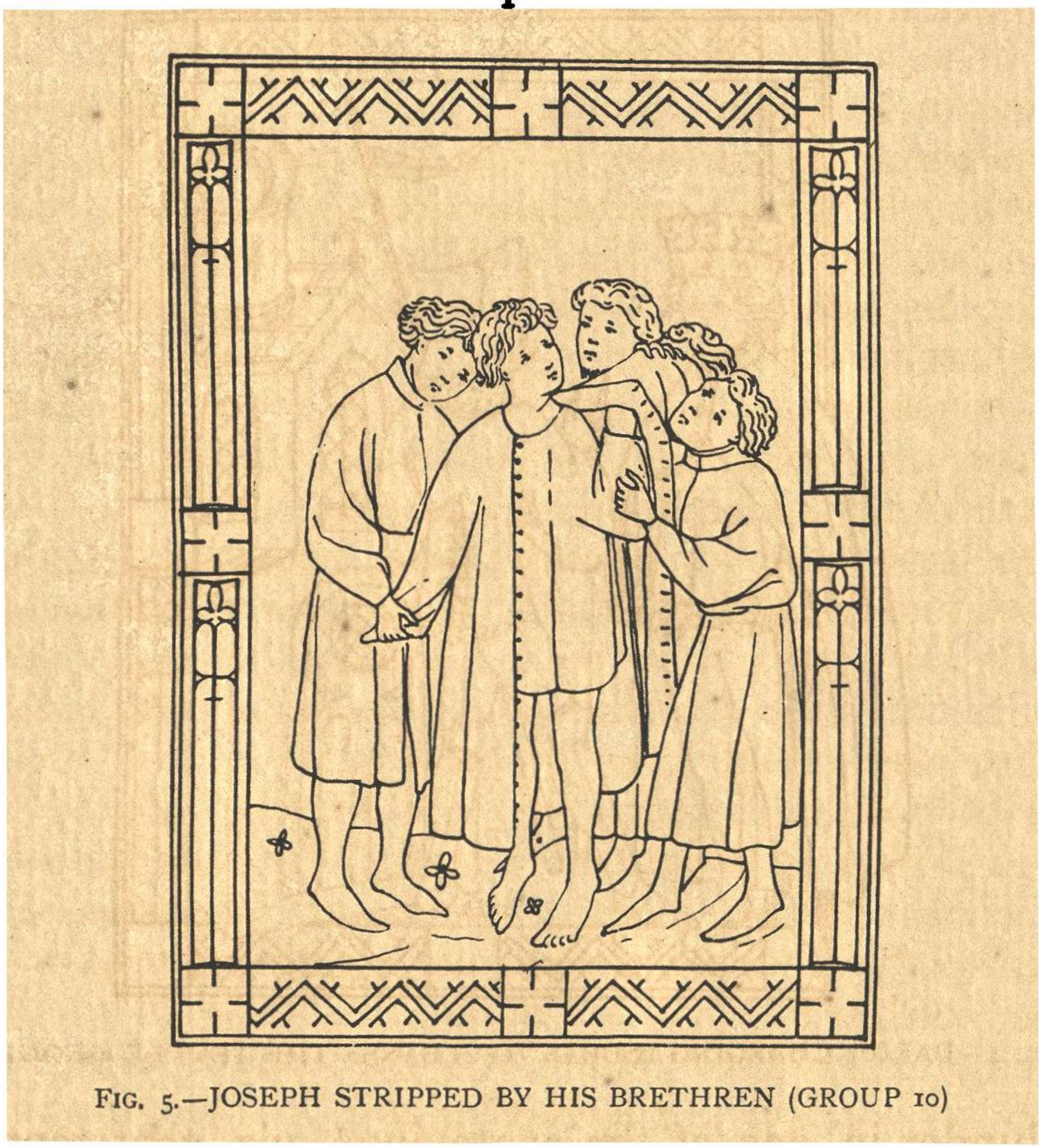


FIG. 5.—JOSEPH STRIPPED BY HIS BRETHREN (GROUP 10)

in the block-book; and in several instances the engraver has blundered words which the manuscript enables us to interpret. A second hand appears in some of the verses, as specified below. It should also be noticed that the half-lengths of the prophets and patriarchs are not disposed around

the central subject in the same order as that observed in the block-book.

The incongruities and anachronisms in the details of his paintings, which are so obtrusively evident to us, accustomed as we are to exact from modern art a careful striving after the true representation of things as they were in the period that is being depicted, never offended the eyes of the miniaturist of the Middle Ages. It was natural for him to represent men of any period in the history of the world as clad in the dress of his own day, and as inhabiting the dwellings and using the weapons and utensils of his own time. Without the archæological knowledge which we possess, he could hardly do otherwise. He did, however, make one exception. To dress the figures of sacred persons in modern costume would to him also have been an offence; and, accordingly, Our Lord and His Mother and other persons connected with Him appear in robes of a traditionally conventional style. Childish as it may appear to us, there was in the eyes of the artist of our manuscript nothing absurd in representing David as being lowered from the city-wall by the faithful Michal in the very face of his enemy Saul; and it is pardonable that he should have drawn the Ark of the Lord, before which Dagon falls, as an enamelled mediæval châsse. Again, it was a natural thing for him, as a native of the Netherlands, to imagine that Joseph would depart by ship when bought by the Ishmaelites, and would be conveyed by the same means to Egypt to be sold into bondage; but it is difficult to find a reason why Enoch should be represented as being caught up out of a pulpit to be translated to Heaven. Other instances of such anomaly might be given; but it is more profitable

to write a few descriptive words regarding the miniatures which have been selected from the manuscript to illustrate this article.

Several of these are of interest on account of the costume of the period: as, for example, fig. 2, which shows the fashion, followed by the women of

FIG. 6.—ABSALOM CONSPIRES AGAINST DAVID (GROUP 10)

the Netherlands, of enveloping the head and neck in a kerchief; and fig. 3, in which we have two styles of female dress, the maiden wearing a simple robe and having the head bare. Again, in fig. 4, Darius appears in the tight-fitting dress and long cloak of a noble of the period, the belt girt low upon the hips, and Esdras wears the armour of the early

fifteenth century, with a close-fitting corset laced up the back. In fig. 5, the figure of Joseph being stripped by his brethren teaches us that a lad's dress would consist of hose, a shirt, and a loose coat which would be girt round the waist; in fig. 6 Absalom is proclaimed in the nobleman's dress

FIG. 7.—SOLOMON AND BATHSHEBA (GROUP 28)

with long open sleeves and in pointed shoes; and in fig. 7, Solomon in scarlet royal robes does honour to his mother Bathsheba in the black dress and frilled cap of a Dutch widow.

Domestic furniture is curiously instanced in the scene of Christ before Pilate, fig. 8, wherein the latter is proceeding to take water from a jug which

hangs from a hook, while a long towel is suspended conveniently beside it from a pole projecting from the wall; and in Plate xvi., reproducing the scene of Christ bearing the Cross and of His meeting with St. Veronica, there is a curious representation, in the background, of a tavern, above the roof of which is seen the 'bush.'

FIG. 8.—CHRIST BEFORE PILATE (GROUP 14)

Reference has been made to the care bestowed by the artist on the modelling of the human features, and to the success in some instances attained. The Plate xvi., just cited, presents a favourable specimen of this work in the face of Our Lord[1]; and still

[1] In the detached face on the left, representing the impression of Our Lord's face on the napkin held by St. Veronica, the details are unavoidably a little less distinct in the plate than in the bright colours of the miniature.

greater is the beauty of the Saviour's features in Plate xvii., in which, too, the expression of the incredulous disciple is by no means ineffectually rendered.

We conclude this article with a list of the several groups of miniatures together with a transcript of the leonine hexameters.

1. Annunciatio.

a. The Curse on the Serpent. *b.* The Annunciation. *c.* Gideon and the Fleece.

Vipera vim perdet, sine vi pariente puella.
Virgo salutatur; innupta manens gravidatur.
Rore madet vellus, remanet tamen arida tellus.

In the third verse the block-book has *remansit arida tellus.*

2. Nativitas.

a. Moses and the Burning Bush. *b.* The Nativity. *c.* The Budding of Aaron's Rod.

Lucet et ignescit, sed non rubus igne calescit.
Absque dolore paris, Virgo Maria, maris.
Hec contra morem producit virgula florem.

3. Epyphania.

a. Abner visiting David. *b.* The Adoration of the Magi. *c.* The Queen of Sheba visiting Solomon.

Plebs notat hec gentes Christo iungi cupientes.
Christus adoratur; aurum, thus, mirra letatur.
Hoc typice gentem notat ad Christum venientem.

In the second verse the block-book reads *locatur.*

4. Fuga Marie in Egyptum.

a. Rebecca sending Jacob to Laban. *b.* The Flight into Egypt. *c.* Michal aiding David in his Escape.

Linquit tecta patris Iacob formidine fratris.
Herodis diram Christus puer affugit iram.
Per Michal David Saul insidias sibi cavit.

Auctoritas
David
Samuel
Psa.

5. RUINA YDOLORUM.

a. Moses destroying the Golden Calf. *b.* The Idols falling as the Holy Family journeys past them. *c.* The fall of Dagon before the Ark.

Per Moysen sacrum teritur vituli simulacrum.
Ydola, presente Christo, cecidere repente.
Archa repentine fit Dagon causa ruine.

6. SUSCITATIO LAZARI.

a. Elijah raising the Widow's Son. *b.* The raising of Lazarus. *c.* Elisha raising the Shunammite's Son.

Est vidue natus per Heliam vivificatus.
Per te fit, Christe, redivivus Lazarus iste.
Per tua dona, Deus, vitam dedit huic Helyseus.

7. PENITENTIA MARIE MAGDALENE.

a. Nathan reproving David. *b.* Mary Magdalene anointing the feet of Christ. *c.* Miriam healed of leprosy.

Voce Nathan tactus, rex pravos corripit actus.
Hanc a peccatis absolvit fons pietatis.
Hec lepra tacta pena fit munda peracta.

The block-book has *bonitatis* in the second verse, and *leprosa facta* in the third verse.

8. [AD]VENTUS CHRISTI IERUSALEM

a. Judith, with the head of Holofernes, received in triumph. *b.* Christ's entry into Jerusalem. *c.* Elisha received by the Sons of the Prophets.

Hostem qui struxit laudatur carmine Iudith.
Carmen Hebreorum te laudat, Christe, bonorum.
Gloria, nate Dei, tibi convenit hec Helysei.

In the block-book the first subject is David bearing the head of Goliath, and the accompanying verse is: *Hostem qui stravit laudatur carmine David.* The word *struxit*, above, is of course wrong; it should either be *destruxit*, or, more probably, some word like *trudit*, to rhyme with *Iudith.*

9. EXPULSIO VENDENTIUM DE TEMPLO.

a. Darius charging Esdras to cleanse the Temple. *b.* Christ

driving the money-changers from the Temple. *c.* Judas Maccabeus ordering the cleansing of the Temple.

Templum mundari iubet hoc et festa notari.
Christus vendentes de templo repellit ementes.
Et tua sancta, Deus, mundari studet Machabeus.

The block-book has *vocari* at the end of the first verse.

10. Conspiratio in mortem Christi.

a. Joseph stripped by his Brethren. *b.* Judas and the Jews conspire against Christ. *c.* Absalom conspires against David.

Turba malignatur fratrum, puer ut moriatur.
In mortem Christi conspirant insimul isti.
Intrat in fata patris proles scelerata.

The artist has made a mistake in the central miniature, by introducing Christ bound as a prisoner. One of the group of conspirators being the high priest, he has evidently confused the subject with the trial before Caiaphas. The block-book reads *nominatur*, instead of *ut moriatur*, in the first verse; and *Nititur in facta* in the third verse.

11. Venditio Christi.

a. Joseph sold to the Ishmaelites. *b.* Judas receiving the Thirty Pieces of Silver. *c.* Joseph sold to Potiphar.

Te signat, Christe, iustus venundatus iste.
Qui Christum vendis, Iudas, ad Tartara tendis.
Convenit hoc Christo quidquid puero fit in isto.

12. Cena Domini.

a. Melchizedek* giving bread and wine to Abraham. *b.* The Last Supper. *c.* Moses giving Manna to the Israelites.

Sacra notant Christi que Melchisadech dedit isti.
Rex sedet in cena, turba cinctus duodena.
Se tenet in manibus, se cibat ipse cibus.

A fourth verse, as an alternative for the third, is added by the second hand:—

Ecce legens manna populus proclamat osanna.

13. Traditio Christi.

a. Abner treacherously slain by Joab. *b.* The Betrayal. *c.* Tryphon betrays Jonathan.

Alloquitur blande Ioab hunc perimitque nephande.
Per pacem, Christe, tradit te traditor iste.
Verba gerens blanda, Triphon parat arma nephanda.

* The block-book has *trahit hiis te* in the second verse.

14. DAMPNATIO CHRISTI AD MORTEM.

a. Jezebel slaying the Prophets and threatening Elijah. *b.* Christ before Pilate. *c.* Daniel thrust into the Lions' Den.

Femina trux istum dampnat sic impia christum.
Est fera plebs ausa dampnare Iesum sine causa.
Gens hec crudelis sitit in mortem Danielis.

The block-book has *facit*, instead of *sitit*, in the third verse.

15. CORONATIO ET DERISIO DOMINI.

a. Ham exposing Noah. *b.* Christ crowned with Thorns. *c.* The Children mocking Elisha.

Nuda verenda videt dum Cham patris, male ridet.
Pro nobis [Christe] probrum p[ateris pie] triste.
Percutit ira Dei derisores Helizei.

The second verse is left imperfect in the manuscript.

16. CHRISTUS PORTAT CRUCEM.

a. Isaac carrying the Wood for his own Sacrifice. *b.* Christ bearing the Cross. *c.* The Widow of Sarepta holding two pieces of wood in the form of a Cross.

Ligna ferens, Christe, te presignat puer iste.
Fert crucis hoc signum Christus, reputans sibi dignum.
Mistica sunt signa crucis vidue duo ligna.

The block-book has *lignum* in the second verse, correctly.

17. CRUCIFIXUS CHRISTUS.

a. Abraham sacrificing Isaac. *b.* The Crucifixion. *c.* The Brazen Serpent.

Signantem Christum puerum pater immolat istum.
Eruit a tristi baratro nos passio Christi.
Lesi curantur, serpentem dum speculantur.

18. APERITIO LATERIS CHRISTI.

a. The Creation of Eve. *b.* The Piercing of Christ's Side. *c.* Moses striking the Rock.

Femina prima viri de costa cepit oriri.
De Christo munda cum sanguine profluit unda.
Est sacramentum Christi dans petra fluentum.

19. SEPULTURA CHRISTI.

a. Joseph cast into the Pit, and Jacob deceived. *b.* Christ laid in the Tomb. *c.* Jonah cast into the Sea.

Hanc in cisternam detruditur iste veternam.
Mirra conditur et ab hiis Christus sepelitur.
Ionas glutitur, tamen illesus reperitur.

20. DESCENSUS CHRISTI AD INFEROS.

a. David slaying Goliath. *b.* The Harrowing of Hell. *c.* Samson tearing the Lion.

Signans te, Christe, Goliam conterit iste.
Conteres antiquum tu, Christe, potens inimicum.
Sampson te, Christe, Sathanam leo denotat iste.

The second and third verses are different in the block-book :—

Fit Christi morte baratri destructio porte,
Ut vis Sampsonis destruxit ora leonis.

21. RESURRECTIO DOMINI.

a. Samson carrying away the Gates of Gaza. *b.* The Resurrection. *c.* Jonah cast up by the Whale.

Obsessus turbis, Sampson valvas tulit urbis.
Quem saxum texit, ingens tumulum Iesus exit.
De tumulo, Christe, surgentem denotat iste.

The block-book has *surgens te* in the third verse.

22. VISITATIO SEPULCHRI.

a. Reuben seeking Joseph. *b.* The Angel at the Tomb. *c.* The Church seeking her Spouse.

Ruben sublatum puerum putat esse necatum.
Quod vivas, Christe, certum docet angelus iste.
Hec pia vota gerit, dum sponsum sedula querit.

For *putat*, the block-book reads *timet* in the first verse.

23. APPARITIO CHRISTI MARIE MAGDALENE.

a. Daniel released from the Lions' Den. *b.* Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene. *c.* The Church with her Spouse.

Rex iocundatur, ut hunc vivum speculatur.
Demonstrando piam solaris, Christe, Mariam.
Sponso quesito fruitur iam sponsa cupito.

The block-book has *Te monstrans* in the second verse.

24. Apparitio Christi discipulis.

a. Joseph making himself known to his Brethren. *b.* Christ appearing to His Disciples. *c.* The return of the Prodigal Son.

Quos vexit pridem, blanditur fratribus idem.
Hiis Iesus apparet; surgentis gloria claret.
Flens amplexatur natum pater ac recreatur.

The block-book also reads *vexit* in the first line. Are we to take it as a contracted form of *vexavit*?

25. Apparitio Christi Thome.

a. Gideon's Sacrifice. *b.* Christ convincing Thomas. *c.* Jacob wrestling with the Angel.

Angelus hortatur ne quid Gedeon vereatur.
Te pateris, Christe, palpari, credat ut iste.
Israel est dictus luctans Iacob benedictus.

The block-book has *se dat*, for *credat*, in the second verse.

26. Ascensio Domini.

a. The Translation of Enoch. *b.* The Ascension. *c.* Elijah in the Fiery Chariot.

Enoch translatus celestibus est sociatus.
Sanctus sanctorum Christus petit astra polorum.
Celicus effectus Helya per aera vectus.

27. Adventus Spiritus Sancti.

a. Moses receiving the Law. *b.* The Descent of the Holy Ghost. *c.* Elijah's Sacrifice.

Lex est divina Moysi data vertice Syna.
Pectora sacrorum replet almum pneuma virorum.
Celica flamma venit et plebis pectora lenit.

The block-book has *verorum*, for *sacrorum*, in the second verse.

28. Coronatio beate Marie.

a. Solomon seating Bathsheba on his throne. *b.* The Coronation of the Virgin. *c.* Esther honoured by Ahasuerus.

Assidet in troni medio mater Salamoni.
Assumendo piam veneraris, Christe, Mariam.
Hester, ut ingreditur ad Assuerum, veneratur.

The first verse is by the second hand. In the block-book it is:—

Ingressam matrem Salomon sibi collocat istam.

In the third verse, the block-book has *et*, for *ad*.

29. EXTREMUM IUDICIUM.

a. The Judgment of Solomon. *b.* Christ descending to the Last Judgment. *c.* The Amalekite who slew Saul beheaded before David.

Iudicat rex puerum proprie matri dare vivum.
Iudicium verum fero pravisque severum.
Ob Domini christum David sic iudicat istum.

These verses and those of the two next groups are in the second hand. In the block-book the verses of this group are as follows:—

Dicat nunc iuste, dandus matri puer iste.
Iudico dampnandos reprobos simul atque nephandos.
Ob dominum christum sic David iudicat istum.

30. PENA DAMPNATORUM.

a. The destruction of Dathan and Abiram. *b.* Hell. *c.* The destruction of Sodom.

Hii terre dantur qui legi non famulantur.
Sic affliguntur penis qui prava secuntur.
Ob crimen vite sic perduntur Sodomite.

The block-book reads *quia Christo* in the first verse, and *truduntar sic* in the third verse.

31. GAUDIA BEATORUM.

a. The Feast of Job's Children.[1] *b.* The Home of the Blessed. *c.* Jacob's Ladder.

Sicut Iob natos, benedicis, Christe, beatos.
Gaudia sanctorum rutilant in arce polorum.
Scala Iacob recta designat celica tecta.

In the block-book the verses are—

Iob nati gaudent, quia sic feliciter audent.
O Pater, in celis me tecum pascere velis.
Angelus est visus; Iacob in hoc valde gavisus.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

[1] On the back of the leaf there is a note, in a very minute hand, referring to this scene: 'Hier is iob mit sinen kinderen en[de] vrienden.'

LATE JACOBITE TRACTS

JACOBITE TRACTS, at least of and about The Forty Five, are neither rich nor rare: they come within the range of the poor collector. Of tracts on the Hanoverian side I do not speak; nobody collects *them*; they are mostly sermons by Anglican bishops in a fright about the establishment, or dull constitutional arguments, or harpings on that thrice-battered fable of The Warming Pan.

There was not much tract-writing, on the side of the White Rose, during the actual fighting of 1745. One placard appeared at that time, but my copy bears no date; it is entitled *The Chronicle of Charles, the Young Man.* In form the piece, a biblical parody, is a predecessor of Wilson's, Hogg's, and Lockhart's famous Chaldee Manuscript. This is the manner of it:

CHAPTER I

1. 'And it came to pass in the Eighth Month, even in the Month of August, in the Year 1745, that the Young Man landed at Moidart, in the wilderness of Lochaber.

2. 'That the Prophecies of John the Scribe might be fulfilled, who prophesied, saying,

3. 'In the Eighth Month, that is, in the Month of August, the young Man will come again, and many will go out after him.' . . .

Who John the Scribe was, I would gladly learn.

7. 'Now the Young Man was a great Prince, and of a goodly countenance, and all they that saw him loved him, and they called his name CHARLES. . . .

9. 'Yet he humbled himself in his Host, he did eat as the soldiers did eat, and he lay as they did, he marched on foot before

them, saying, *I will not dwell in ease, while they who fight for me suffer hardships.*'

Presently we hear that 'George the Usurper'. went to Herrenhausen 'with a Concubine, wife to one of the Captains of his Host, and the Concubine's Name was Wolmate.' The Chronicle now follows Cope to the point where 'the armies of *Charles* made haste and ran towards *Cope*; and *Charles* marched at their Head on foot.' This was at the Pass of Corry Arraick, whence Cope went aside and North, leaving the low country open to the Prince. Of the Highland army it is said 'his Host gave Money for all things they got,' and certainly Lochiel did shoot a plundering clansman. At Prestonpans 'the Lord was with *Charles*, and his Host ran furiously down upon the Host of *Cope*, and rooted them out, and the Lord delivered the Host of *Cope* into the Hands of *Charles* that day.

'Now the rest of the Acts of Charles, and the Mercy that he shewed, and why he warred, are they not known throughout all the Land of Cakes?'

And there the Chronicle closes, at a fortunate moment.

Of the year 1745 is 'A Full Collection of All Poems upon Charles, Prince of Wales, Regent of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and dominions thereunto belonging.

'Published since His Arrival in Edinburgh, the 17th day of September, till the 1st of November, 1745.'

There is no name of printer or publisher attached to these loyal effusions. One bard cries:—

'Oh! Godlike Man, what Angel steered thy course?
What God directed? where was thy Resource?
Th' Usurper's Fleets, in Triumph, scal'd the waves,
The base Usurper's mercenary Slaves;

Ravenous and bold they skip'd along the Main,
With views, dear Prince, to sell thy life for gain!
Yet THOU, undaunted, fearless, Godlike rode
In a poor Shallop;—'Twas the Cause of God,
And God, who set to naught th' Assyrian's Pride
Thy Vessel guarded, and their Power defy'd.'

Such pious expressions are usual, as in—

'He who did proud Pharaoh crush,
And save old Jacob's line,
Shall speak to Charlie in the bush,
For auld lang syne.'

Though landed in Moidart, the Prince finds

'Friends faithless some, and some by far too slow.'

None the less he enlisted

'A Set of Men, *whose worth was scarcely known*,
A Set of Men th' Usurper did disown.
Proceed, great Warriors, worthy Men, proceed,
And later Ages shall the Annal read,
How hardy loyal Highlanders alone,
Restored the Stewarts, and set them on the throne.'

The poet does not quite expect all this to occur, I fear, but he warms in saluting the good Lochiel.

'The Sun shall fade, the Stars shall lose their light,
But CAMERON'S Name shall never suffer Night.'

The Prince is well described:

'See mild good Nature join'd with noble grace,
Is't not the STEWART and SOBIESKI Race.'

The chiefs commemorated are Glengarry (not out himself, he was old), Keppoch, Appin, Glenbucket, Athol (the exiled Duke), Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth,

'Elcho, but words are weak, for who can tell
What God-like actions have expressed so well?'

Lord Ogilvie, Nairne, Gask, Strowan, and

Menzies, all come in for a laurel leaf or two. As for Gladsmuir:

'Oh, who can paint the horrors of the day,
The dying dead, the anguish, the dismay.'

The poet concludes thus:

'A Homer only can our Charles draw,
Retire with Wonder, and submissive Awe'!

There is a flat little piece on His Majesty's birthday (June 10, White Rose Day), and a more spirited poem, in heroic verse, on Gladsmuir. Yet another minstrel exclaims:

'Behold our brave successful hero,
Is mowing down a German Nero'!

A lady applauds Charles's charms, and wishes she were a man to fight for so handsome a prince. In truth the verses are bad, and the Rightful Cause only shone in poetry.

'When all was done that man could do,
And all was done in vain.'

Next we glance at 'A Particular Account of the Battle of Culloden, in a Letter from a Highland Officer to a friend in London:

"*In Great Attempts, 'tis glorious even to fail!*"

printed for *T. Warner*, near St. Paul's, 1749.' The piece is probably by Lord George Murray, was written in 1746, and is familiar to historical readers. It is a fair enough account of the unhappy business, from Lord George's point of view. He was overruled by Sullivan in the choice of ground, for Lord George's constant retreats had lost him the confidence of the Prince. Lord George says: 'I can't justly tell what order they were drawn up in, but no Body who had any Regard for the Common Cause

insisted on such things' (as rank) 'on that occasion.' This does not bear out the usual story of the Macdonalds, and their refusal to charge. 'The Left Wing did not go in Sword in Hand, imagining they should be flanked by a Regiment of Foot, and some Horse which the enemy brought up about that time from their Second Line, or Corps de Reserve.' The author may not be Lord George, but, in a manuscript inscription in an old hand, the piece is attributed to him. Maxwell of Kirkconnel, who was present, and others blame Lord George for placing the Macdonalds on the left; the whole truth, as in all such cases, will never be known.

On one point I recently observed curious pieces of evidence in the Stuart MSS. at Windsor Castle. Charles, about 1750, occupied his leisure by writing a brief account of his adventures after Culloden. In this he says that his horse was hit on the shoulder, and that he changed steeds. Those about him then forced him from the field, where, indeed, he could do nothing but die like Aylmer de Valence at Bannockburn. Again, writing to his father in 1759, Charles observes that the night attack on Cumberland at Nairn was practicable, for Clanranald's regiment came on the enemy's outposts, and found them unprepared. Lord George Murray, though a brave and skilled leader, did, in fact, retreat again and again, from Derby, Stirling, and Nairn, when glory and possible victory could only be won by advancing.

As to Charles's wanderings after Culloden, the *Ascanius* tract is too well known for citation. 'A genuine and true perusal of the most miraculous escape of the Young Chevalier' (London, 1754). 'Partly wrote in London, and partly in Scotland,' with 'a large account of what befell the Pr. in

France, by an Englishman,' is obviously by Dr. Burton, and founded on materials supplied by Bishop Forbes. Dr. Burton indeed, as papers in the Additional MSS. of the British Museum show, got into some trouble with the English Government for his pains. The tract, though authentic and interesting, is practically superseded now by Robert Chambers's *Jacobite Memoirs*, founded on Bishop Forbes's *Lyon in Mourning*, and by the *Lyon* itself, lately issued by the Scottish History Society. The author of the pamphlet mentions three huts near Achnacarie (Lochiel's burned house), where the Prince lay in August 1746. One of these cottages has only lately been destroyed by fire, but a photograph of it was fortunately done by a lady before the accident. It is an ordinary Highland cottage, like those in Glencoe. Thence, probably, the fatal treasure of 40,000 *louis d'or* was carried by Archibald Cameron and others, and buried in the bed of a burn flowing into Loch Arkaig. Desire for this money broke up the clans, and probably determined the treachery of the most powerful chief. I have given a full account of these intrigues in *Pickle the Spy*, now, I believe, nearly ready for publication. A minute itinerary of the Prince's wanderings is, I understand, now in preparation, by Mr. W. B. Blaikie.

The sequel of the pamphlet of 1754 describes the Prince's fortunes after his arrival in France. These, with all their disappointments, are sufficiently well known, and much additional light, neglected by Mr. Ewald in his *Life of Charles Edward*, is given in French Memoirs, especially in those of d'Argenson, de Luynes and Barbier. Dissatisfied in Paris, Charles visited Madrid, and the pamphlet says, at 'the other Courts.' This is im-

probable, but the Stuart Papers for 1747-1749 are being examined for a Scotch historian. The acceptance of a Cardinal's Hat, by the Duke of York, 'struck a most deadly damp on the natural Gayety and Vivacity of the Prince's disposition. He had shown how well he could support the ill-usage of Enemies, but was yet to learn how to bear that of Friends, so near and dear as he had ever held them in their several relations to him.' The pamphleteer then quotes Dryden's verse,

'*Hate ne'er strikes deep, but when unkindness joins.*'

It is true that the Duke of York deserted Charles in Paris, with singular circumstances of treachery and unkindness. The Prince's temper never rallied. Naturally gay, he became sullen and morose. 'The old Chevalier is as far from desiring, as it is likely he is from expecting, any fruit of his Son's Labours.' The Prince and the King were never reconciled; Charles could not trust James, and displayed a churlish resentment. After the signing of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which made Charles *caput lupinum*, and deprived him of a hole wherein to lay his head, outside of the States of the Church, the pamphleteer met the Prince, and was received with 'Affability and sweetness of Behaviour.' Possibly the writer was Townley, whose unpublished letters in the State Papers (forwarded to Sir Horace Mann by some spy in Rome) prove that he despaired when the Prince declined to leave France, conduct which led to that disgraceful arrest which he never forgot nor forgave. It is improbable, however, that Townley had only this one interview with the Prince. A long story is told about a service of plate, purchased by the Prince at this juncture. He entertained 'the Princess Talmont' (his mistress), 'the Marchioness

de Sprimont, Madame de Maizieuse, the Duc de Bouillon' (his cousin), and many others, including, we may suppose, his chief allies, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon and Madame de Vassé.

The Arrest is described in 'A Letter from a French Lady,' and Charles himself wrote a full account of it. I have seen a manuscript letter, directed to one of the Miss Walkinshaws, but *not* to Clementina, who joined him, with fatal results, in June 1752. Mr. Ewald thinks she was already with the Prince, the Stuart MSS. prove that this is an error. The French Lady's Letters, reprinted in the pamphlet of 1754, had already been given to the English public. (London. Printed for W. Webb, near St. Paul's, MDCCXLIX.) Charles, when released, went to Avignon in December 1748, leaving that town positively on February 28 (or 25), 1749. He now .became lost to view; diplomatists believed him to be in Poland, and that belief is encouraged by 'A Letter from H—— G——g, Esq., One of the Gentlemen of the Bed Chamber to the Young Chevalier, and the only Person of his Retinue that attended him from Avignon, in his late Journey through Germany and elsewhere, containing many remarkable and affecting occurrences, which happened to the P—— during the Course of his Mysterious Progress. London. Printed and Sold at the Royal Exchange, Temple Bar, Charing Cross, and all the Pamphlet Shops of London and Westminster, 1750. Price one shilling.'

Henry Goring's Letter is a good shilling's worth. It is really a romance. Goring did accompany Charles; but all the adventures, the rescue of a pretty girl by the Prince from a fire at Strasbourg, the encounter with assassins, the journey to Poland,

Berlin, Stockholm, the intended marriage with a Princess Radzivil, the encounter with Lochgarry (supposed to have fallen at Culloden), are mere moonshine. The Prince knew very well that Lochgarry was alive, and, indeed, had prevented him from shooting the Duke of Cumberland, which worthy Lochgarry had set his heart on doing. He *did* visit Strasbourg, and he *may* have there rescued the pretty girl, and behaved, as we learn, like a Scipio: he *may* have had trouble with assassins, plenty of them were on his track, but all this is unlikely. In *Pickle the Spy*, I show, from the Prince's own papers, where he went, and give his ingenious scheme for throwing the police off his track. The account is involved, but he appears to have disguised himself as his own valet, or changed personalities with Henry Goring. The letters which Goring actually wrote are painful reading, and very unlike the published epistle. On this tract Mr. Louis Stevenson based his unhappily unfinished romance, 'The Young Chevalier,' of which only a chapter and a half are in existence. Goring's Letter is well worth reading, for its old-fashioned romantic quality, and as an example of the mental food which nourished the dreams of loyalists, and the hopes of exiles. But the blunder about Lochgarry must have opened the eyes of Scotch readers.

An earlier pamphlet, published by Webb (1747), is 'A Congratulatory Letter to John Murray, Esq.' (of Broughton), 'Late Secretary to the Young Pretender.' Murray, as every one knows, purchased his life by betraying Lovat, and giving information against Traquair, Beaufort, Barrymore, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne. But there was no other evidence against the English and Welsh,

who escaped with a fright that kept them quiet for life. They still communicated, indeed, with James in Rome, but they discouraged all the attempts of the Prince. Murray was less of a rogue than 'Pickle,' who escaped detection. The legend says that the beautiful Mrs. Murray followed Charles to France. She was certainly with her husband as late as 1748, when her repeater was pawned by Leslie, a priest, in the interests of Young Glengarry. That Mrs. Murray left her lord seems certain, that she left him for the Prince is almost impossible. From 1747 to 1752, Charles was with the Princesse de Talmond, then with Miss Walkinshaw, and always in hiding. The presence of Mrs. Murray with him could scarcely have escaped my observations. Many French ladies beset him, but, after 1748, Mrs. Murray could not have found her way to the concealed exile. This little romance, therefore, may follow Henry Goring's Letter. The letter to John Murray taunts him with one of the few iniquities of which he was not guilty. He did *not* steal any of the treasure hidden at Loch Arkaig. The fact is that Murray had not the chance. The Letter replies to 'Genuine Memoirs of John Murray, Esq., Together with Remarks on the same, in a Letter to a Friend.' (London. Printed for J. Wilford, at the Three Flowers-de-Luces in Fleet Lane, over against the Old Bailey.)

This tract puts as favourable a construction as possible on Murray's career, and includes this anecdote:

'As the two young P——s (as they are called in Rome) were at their devotions, a small piece of the ceiling, which it seems is curiously ornamented with various Flowers in Fret-work, detach'd itself from the Rest, and a *Thistle* fell into the lap of the Elder,

a *Rose* fell immediately after; this, together with a star of great magnitude, which the Astronomers pretend appear'd at his Nativity, . . . might perhaps have some share in exciting him to his rash enterprise.' Murray probably heard of this portent when in Rome, in 1742. The unhappy star of Charles appears in an early medal, with the motto, *Micat inter omnes.* The pamphlet for Murray was written before his love of living, even as a man disgraced and abhorred, overcame his honour. The most curious point is that, in 1763, Charles paid him a visit in London. Murray's little boy, afterwards the well-known actor, was in the room at the time, remembered the tall red-faced gentleman, and was told that he 'had seen his king.' About this very time, or a year later, the father of Sir Walter Scott threw out of the window the cup that had touched the lips of Murray of Broughton. Why Charles went to see him is an insoluble mystery; that he did come William Murray averred, and the Cardinal Duke of York, in the present century, gave, to a member of the House of Stair, 1763 as the date of his brother's visit to England.

These late pamphlets throw no light at all on the adventures of Charles in incognito. The strange history of these adventures will never be fully known, for, just when the Prince is most deeply engaged in dangerous or desperate intrigues, his letters and draughts of plans become most scarce, or do not exist at all. In one accomplishment, that of disguised and stealthy movement, Charles was certainly unequalled. But the eye of a traitor was upon him, during the two or three most enterprising years which followed his exodus from Avignon.

ANDREW LANG.

THE ISHAM BOOKS

ABOUT thirty years ago much interest was aroused among lovers of the poetry of the Elizabethan age by the announcement of the discovery of a mine of unexplored literary wealth at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, the seat of Sir Charles Edmund Isham, Bart.

The manor of Lamport, after having been for more than three centuries in the possession of the Trussells, passed by marriage to the Earls of Oxford early in the sixteenth century. About the year 1560 the manor and advowson of the church were purchased by Robert and John Isham, and on the death of the former in 1564 they became the sole property of John Isham, a mercer, who was governor of the English merchant adventurers in Flanders, and sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1581. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Barker, who is believed to have been of the family of the Queen's Printers of that name, who were persons of rank and opulence. Thomas Isham, his eldest son, who succeeded to the estate in 1595, was probably intimate with many of the literary men and printers of his day, and thus acquired the greater part of the books which have since become so rare and valuable. They were most likely deposited in this country-house at the time of their publication, and there remained secure from such public calamities as the Civil Wars and the Fire of London. Thomas Isham died in 1605, and was succeeded by his son John, who was knighted by James I., and created a baronet in 1627. Great alterations were

made at Lamport Hall in the reign of Charles II. by Sir Justinian Isham, the second baronet, whose attentions to Dorothy Osborne provoked some playful raillery in the letters of that lady to her future husband, Sir William Temple, and it was probably then that this remarkable collection of books, together with many others of little or no value, was removed to an upper room and never replaced in the library. 'There,' wrote Charles Edmonds to the *Times* of 4th October 1867, 'in a back lumber-room, covered with dust, and exposed to the depredations of mice, which had already digested the contents of some of the books, and amid hundreds of old volumes of various dates and sizes, the far greater part of which are of very trifling value, I discovered a little collection of volumes contemporary, or nearly so,' with a hitherto unknown edition of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, printed at London for William Leake in 1599. This edition is a reprint of the text of those which had preceded it in 1593, 1594, and 1596, with a few corrections, but with many more misprints. Enclosed in the same vellum cover are copies of *The Passionate Pilgrim* and Davies and Marlowe's *Epigrams and Elegies. The Passionate Pilgrime*, of which the only other copy known is in the Capell Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, was printed at London for W. Jaggard in 1599, and on the title-page the enterprising publisher has placed the name of Shakespeare, although the volume contains nothing by him, but merely Barnfield's sonnet, *If music and sweet poetry agree*, and his ode *As it fell upon a day*, which were long attributed to Shakespeare. The third tract in the volume is an unknown edition of the suppressed *Epigrammes and Elegies* of Sir John Davies and Christopher Marlowe, printed ostensibly 'At

Middleborough,' but really in London, and most probably in the same year as the two other works with which it has been preserved.

Next in interest to the *Venus and Adonis* volume is that which contains *Emaricdulfe*, by E. C., 1595, Barnfield's *Cynthia*, 1598, Griffin's *Fidessa*, 1596, and Tofte's *Laura*, 1597. *Emaricdulfe. Sonnets written by E. C., Esquire*, and printed at London for Matthew Law in 1595, is unique, and no clue to the author has yet been discovered. Richard Barnfield's *Cynthia. With certain Sonnets, and the Legend of Cassandra*, printed at London for Humphrey Lownes, 1595, but the date of which has been altered to 1598 by a contemporary hand, is an exact reprint of the first edition of 1595, even to the date on the title-page. Another copy is in the Malone Collection in the Bodleian Library. *Fidessa, more chaste then kinde. By B. Griffin, gent.*, was printed at London by the Widow Orwin for Matthew Lownes, in 1596, and contains sixty-two sonnets, the author of which has also two—*Venus, and young Adonis sitting by her* and *Fidessa*—in *The Passionate Pilgrim.* Two other copies of this work are known, one in the Bodleian Library, the other in the Huth Collection. [redacted]*. The Toyes of a Traueller. Or, The Feast of Fancie. By R. T. Gentleman*, printed at London by Valentine Sims in 1597, consists of sonnets by Robert Tofte, the author of *Alba*, mentioned in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and translator of Ariosto's *Satires*. [redacted] only other copy known is now in the British Museum.

There are several other books the very existence of which had never been suspected, as well as editions either unknown or supposed to be entirely lost. These unique books comprise: *Tarletons*

Tragical Treatises, contaynyng sundrie discourses and prety Conceytes, both in prose and verse, dedicated to the Lady Frances Mildmay, and printed at London by Henry Bynneman in 1578. Most unfortunately, for almost all of Tarlton's ballads and minor pieces have perished, this most interesting discovery is but a fragment, consisting of the first eight leaves only. There are also, *A Commemoration on the life and death of Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight*, by John Phillips, printed at London for Edward White, 1591; *The Shepheardes Complaint. A passionate Eclogue, written in English Hexameters: Wherevnto are annexed other conceits, brieflie expressing the effects of Loues impressions, and the iust punishment of aspiring beautie*, by John Dickenson, author of *Arisbas* and *Greene in Conceipt*, and printed at London for William Blackwall, about 1595; *The Garland of a greene Witte. Discouering the constancie of Calipolis*, by Richard Turner, the author of *Constant Lusina*, and printed at London for William Kirkham in 1595, a romance in prose with verse occasionally interspersed; *The Lamentations of Amintas for the death of Phillis. Paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English Hexameters, by Abraham Fraunce*, a translation of Thomas Watson's *Amintas*, and printed at London by Robert Robinson for Thomas Gubbin, 1596; *Sinetes. Passions vppon his fortunes offered for an Incense at the shrine of the Ladies which guided his distempered thoughts*, by Robert [illegible]ry, printed at London by T. P. [Thomas Purfoot] for William Holme, 1597; *Celestiall Elegies of the Goddesses and Muses, deploring the death of the Ladie Fraunces Countesse of Hertford*, by Thomas Rogers, an author not otherwise known, and printed

at London by Richard Bradocke for I. B. [Joan Broome], 1598; *The Transformed Metamorphosis*, by Cyril Tourneur, the celebrated tragic poet, printed at London by Valentine Sims, 1600; *Strange Histories of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Earles, Lords, Ladies, Knights, and Gentlemen*, by Thomas Deloney, with musical notes, printed at London by William Barley, 1602, the earliest edition previously known being that of 1612; *Pietatis Lachrymæ. Teares of Deuotion*, by William Evans, printed at London by Edward Allde, 1602; *The Lamentation of Melpomene for the death of Belphœbe our late Queene. By T. W. Gentleman*, printed at London by W. W. for C. K. [Clement Knight], 1603; *Vertues due: Or, A true modell of the life of Katharine Howard late Countesse of Nottingham*, by Thomas Powell, the author of *Love's Leprosie* and other works, printed at London by Simon Stafford, 1603; and *Palladis Palatium: Wisedomes Pallace. Or the fourth part of Wits Commonwealth*, in prose, entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company as the work of one William Wrednot, and printed at London by G. Elde for Francis Burton, 1604.

Foremost among the books of which only one other copy has yet been discovered stands Christopher Marlowe's translation of the *Hero and Leander* of Musæus, as completed by George Chapman, and printed at London by Felix Kyngston for Paul Linley in 1598. Both the existing copies formed part of the 'trouvaille,' and bound with each of them in the original vellum wrappers are two other works of the greatest rarity. One copy is bound with Chapman's *Shadow of Night*, 1594, and his translation of Ovid's *Banquet of Sence*, 1595; the other copy is bound with Sabie's

Fisshermans Tale and *Flora's Fortune*, 1595, of each of which only one other copy is known. Besides the *Hero and Leander*, and Sabie's works already mentioned, there are Edward Hake's *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde* [1579], a series of eight satires levelled against the corruptions then existing in the various classes of society; *A poore Knight his Pallace of priuate pleasures*, by C. I., 1579; William Averell's *Historie discoursing on the life and death of Charles and Julia, two Brittish, or rather Welshe louers*, 1581, in verse; *Philippes Venus*, by Io. M., 1591, of which the Bodleian Library possesses the second copy; Seager's *Schoole of Vertue, & Booke of good Nurture, teaching children & youth their duties*, 1593; Joshua Sylvester's *Monodia. (An Elegie in commemoration of Dame Hellen Branch)*, [1594]; Thomas Edwards's *Cephalus and Procris*, 1595, unfortunately a mere fragment, but of which there is a perfect copy in the Library of Peterborough Cathedral; Gervase Markham's *Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinville*, 1595; Francis Sabie's *Pan his Pipe*, 1595, and his *Adam's Complaint*, 1596; *Brittons Bowre of Delights*, by Nicholas Breton, 1597, and the same author's *Solemne Passion of the Soules Loue*, 1598, *No Whippinge, nor trippinge: but a kinde friendly Snippinge*, 1601, the only perfect copy known, *Olde Madcappes new Gally-mawfrey*, 1602, and *Honest Counsaile*, 1605; Henry Petowe's *Philochasander and Elanira*, 1599; *Acolastus his after-witte*, by Samuel Nicholson, 1600; *The Whipping of the Satyre*, 1601, possibly by John Weever, which is also at Bridgewater House; William Bas's *Three Pastoral Elegies*, 1602, the only other copy of which is at Winchester College; *The Poores Lamentation for the Death of our late dread Soueraigne the*

Princesse Elizabeth, printed at London for Thomas Pavier, 1603; *Platoes Cap*, 1604; *Humors Antique Faces*, by E. N., 1605, a second copy of which is in the Althorpe Collection; *The Amorose Songes, Sonets, and Elegies* of Alexander Craig, 1606, also at Bridgewater House; Robert Southwell's *Foure-fould Meditation of the foure last things*, 1606, a fragment only; *A Garden of spirituall Flowers*, by Richard Rogers and others, 1610; and Robert Anton's *Moriomachia*, 1613, which has at the end the following interesting allusion to *Don Quixote*, the first part of which had appeared in Shelton's English version in the preceding year: 'So this (little dangerous) Combate was ended, which since the battell betweene Clineasse and Damerasse the like hath not bin heard of, saue onely that of Don Quishotte and the Barbor, about Mambrinoes in-chaunted Helmet.'

The works of which only three copies are known to be extant comprise the first edition of Robert Greene's *Arbasto. The Anatomie of Fortune*, 1584; Breton's *Pilgrimage to Paradise*, 1592, *The Mothers blessing*, 1602, the only perfect copy known, and *A Merrie Dialogue betwixt the Taker and Mistaker*, 1603; *Epicedium, A Funerall Song vpon the vertuous life, and godly death, of the Lady Helen Branch*, 1594, signed 'W. Har.,' and remarkable for containing an allusion to Shakespeare's *Lucrece*; *The Lamentation of Troy for the Death of Hector*, by I. O., 1594; Richard Edwardes's *Paradice of Dainty Deuises*, 1596; *Sir Francis Drake his Honorable lifes commendation, and his Tragicall Deathes lamentation*, by Charles Fitz-Geffrey, 1596; Sir John Davies's *Hymnes of Astræa*, 1599; *The Whipper of the Satyre his pennance in a white Sheete*, 1601, attributed to John Marston, the

dramatic poet; *The Song of Mary the Mother of Christ*, 1601; *Marie Magdalens Lamentations for the losse of her Master Jesus*, by Gervase Markham, 1601; *The Passion of a Discontented Minde*, 1602, a poem often ascribed to Nicholas Breton, but more probably by Robert Southwell; Thomas Greene's *A Poets Vision, and a Princes Glorie*, 1603; *Aue Cæsar. God saue the King. The ioyfull Ecchoes of loyall English hartes, entertayning his Maiesties late ariuall in England*, by Samuel Rowlands, 1603; *Atropoïon Delion, or, The death of Delia*, by Thomas Newton, 1603; Anthony Sherly's *Witts New Dyall*, 1604; and William Barksted's *Mirrha the Mother of Adonis: or, Lustes Prodigies*, 1607.

Many other books of great literary interest, but of which not less than four copies are in existence, are included in the collection. These, like those which precede, are almost all poetical. They include *The Nyne fyrst Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgil*, translated by Thomas Phaer, 1562; Ovid's *Heroycall Epistles*, translated by George Turberville [1567]; Robinson's *Rewarde of Wickednesse* [1574]; *The xi. bookes of the Golden Ass* of Apuleius, translated by William Adlington, 1582; Fulwood's *Enimie of Idlenesse*, 1586; *The Whole woorkes of George Gascoigne*, 1587; Lodge's *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, 1589, and *A fig for Momus*, 1595; Spenser's *Complaints*, 1591; *The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch* and *The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel*, both by Abraham Fraunce, 1591; Drayton's *Idea*, 1593, his ode *To the Maiestie of King James*, the 'second impression,' 1603, and *Poemes*, 1605; Chapman's *Shadow of Night*, 1594, and his translation of Ovid's *Banquet of Sence*, 1595; Lynche's *Diella*, 1596;

Nash's *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, 1596; Lok's *Ecclesiastes*, 1597; Warner's *Albions England*, 1597; Bastard's *Chrestoleros. Seuen bookes of Epigrames*, 1598; Bodenham's *Politeuphuia. Wits Commonwealth*, second edition, 1598; Guilpin's *Skialetheia. Or, A shadowe of Truth, in certaine Epigrams and Satyres*, 1598; Bishop Hall's *Virgideniarum*, 1598; Cutwode's *Caltha Poetarum*, 1599; Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs*, 1601; Breton's *Longing of a blessed heart*, 1601, *The Rauisht Soule, and the Blessed Weeper*, 1601, and *An olde Mans Lesson, and a young Mans Loue*, 1605, the last a fragment only; Nixon's *Christian Navy*, 1602; *The Metamorphosis of Tabacco*, by Sir John Beaumont, 1602; Henry Petowe's *Elizabetha quasi viuens, Eliza's Funerall*, 1603; John Fenton's *King James His welcome to London*, 1603; *The Blacke Booke*, by T. M., 1604; *Fames Memoriall, or The Earle of Deuonshire deceased*, by John Ford, 1606; *Rodomonths Infernall*, translated by Gervase Markham from the French of Philippe Des Portes, 1607; *Christs Victorie*, by Giles Fletcher, 1610; *Greenes Ghost haunting Cony-catchers*, by Samuel Rowlands, 1626; *Jonsonus Virbius*, 1638; Edmund Gayton's *Chartæ Scriptæ*, 1645; Neville's *Newes from the New Exchange*, 1650; and lastly, in order of date, the first edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 1667, a very fine copy of the first issue in the original sheepskin binding, and Milton's *Paradise Regained*, 1671.

Books of historical and geographical interest are few and unimportant. The Martin Marprelate controversy supplies three tracts: Dudley Fenner's *Defence of the godlie Ministers against the slaunders of D. Bridges*, 1587; *Oh read ouer D. John Bridges*,

for it is a worthy worke: *The Epistle* [1588], probably written by John Penry; and *Theses Martinianæ* [1589]. There are also *A discouerie of the treasons practised and attempted against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme, by Francis Throckmorton*, 1584; William Camden's own copy of his Westminster Abbey epitaphs, entitled, *Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, & alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti*, 1600, having on the margins numerous coats of arms emblazoned in gold, silver, and colours, and of which a copy similarly decorated is in the Old Royal Collection in the British Museum; Barnaby Rich's *New Description of Ireland*, 1610; Sir John Mandeville's *Voyages and Trauailes*, wanting the date on the title-page, but apparently the edition of 1625, with rude woodcuts; Timberlake's *True and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English Pilgrimes*, 1603; Archbishop Abbot's *Briefe Description of the whole worlde*, the second edition, 1599; and Bishop Coeffeteau's *True and admirable Historie of a Mayden of Confolens, in the Prouince of Poictiers, that for the space of three yeeres and more hath liued, and yet doth, without receiuing either meate or drinke*, 1604, but wanting the title-page and preliminary matter, which includes verses addressed by Thomas Dekker to Anthony Munday, the translator. To these works may be added Giles Duwes's *Introductorie for to lerne Frenche*, printed at London by Nicolas Bourman for John Reynes, about 1535, and William Salesbury's *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* [1547].

Two other books are remarkable for their binding. The first is a copy of Nevizzano's *Silua Nuptialis*, printed in Paris in 1521, and bound in calf, having the sides stamped with plaques of

scriptural subjects and saints, copied from a French binding of a somewhat earlier date. The second is the Scottish *Book of Common Order*, containing the Psalms of David and the Catechism, printed at Middelburg by Richard Schilders in 1602, in a binding of calf, covered with gold tooling.

All these volumes, with but few and unimportant exceptions, are in wonderfully fresh and perfect condition, and are either in the limp vellum binding of the period of their production, or unbound, in pamphlet form, with the edges entirely uncut. Through the prompt action and ready co-operation of Mr. Wakefield Christie-Miller some of the most important of them have been secured for the British Museum, while the others have been added to the magnificent library at Britwell Court.

The British Museum has by the dispersal of the Isham books been enriched by the most important additions in English literature made for many years. It has acquired the unique copies of Cyril Tourneur's *Transformed Metamorphosis*, 1600, and of Abraham Fraunce's translation of Watson's *Lamentations of Amintas*, 1596. Besides these it has obtained copies of the first edition of Marlowe and Chapman's *Hero and Leander*, 1598; Hake's *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, 1579; Greene's *Arbasto*, the first edition, 1584; Sabie's *Fisherman's Tale* and *Flora's Fortune*, 1595, completing that author's *Pan's Pipe*, which was already in the library; Sabie's *Adam's Complaint*, 1596; Tofte's *Laura*, 1597; Guilpin's *Skialetheia*, 1598; Breton's *Bowre of Delights*, 1597, *No Whippinge, nor trippinge*, 1601, *Old Mad-cappes new Gally-mawfrey*, 1602, *Merrie Dialogue betwixt the Taker and Mistaker*, 1603, and *Honest Counsaile*, 1605; Petowe's *Philochasander and Elanira*, 1599; *The Whipper*

of the Satyre, 1601; *Platoes Cap*, 1604; Coeffeteau's *Historie of a Mayden of Confolens*, 1604; Anton's *Moriomachia*, 1613; W. Har.'s *Epicedium vpon the Lady Helen Branch*, 1594; Nicholson's *Acolastus his after-witte*, 1600; *The Lamentation of Troy for the death of Hector*, 1594; and Fenton's *King James His welcome to London*, 1603. The British Museum has acquired also the Lamport fragments of Thomas Edwards's *Cephalus and Procris*, 1595, and Robert Southwell's *Foure-fold Meditation of the foure last things*, 1606.

The *Venus and Adonis*, the *Passionate Pilgrim*, and Davies and Marlowe's *Epigrams and Elegies*, as well as Hake's *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, have been reprinted under the editorial care of Charles Edmonds. The *Emaricdulfe* of E. C., Rogers's *Celestiall Elegies*, Powell's *Vertues due*, and Phillips's *Commemoration of Sir Christopher Hatton*, have been reproduced in facsimile for the Roxburghe Club under the title of *A Lamport Garland*.

ROBERT EDMUND GRAVES.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN FRENCH BOOKS OF HOURS, 1486-1500

FRENCH Books of Hours present so many attractive features that it is rather surprising how few students have turned their attention to so promising a subject. In my little work on *Early Illustrated Books*, written four years ago, I gave the best description of the *Horae* I could gather from the examples in a single library, that of the British Museum. Since then I have taken notes of the chief early editions at the Bodleian, at the University Library and Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and at the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Mazarine, Ste. Geneviève and Arsenal Libraries at Paris. The number of editions is so great that I have still probably seen little more than half of those printed in the fifteenth century, with which alone we are here concerned. A comparison of those I shall mention with the list given at the end of the fourth volume of Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, will show that while the libraries named above possess many examples which were unknown to him, he, on the other hand, mentions many which they do not possess, and there are doubtless many others which future investigations will bring to light. I have been further handicapped by not being able to see a second time several editions the importance of which I at first underrated; but I hope that what I have been able to do towards establishing the sequence of editions and the relations of their different publishers may at least help to clear the ground.

At the time that *Horae* began to be printed in France, the French manuscripts of the same book had attained their utmost magnificence. The origin of this form of prayer-book for the use of the laity is by no means clear. According to Mr. Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, the Hours of the Blessed Virgin are mentioned as an office as early as the sixth century. They fell, however, into disuse; but are said to have been revived, and probably rearranged, by Peter Damien in 1056. At the Council of Claremont of 1096, the recitation of them, in addition to the Canonical Hours, was made compulsory upon all the clergy, and this compulsion continued till 1568, when Pope Pius v., in issuing his revision of the Breviary, released the clergy from the obligation to say this office, at the same time that he forbade the use of the vernacular translations, which for at least two centuries had been permitted to the laity. According to Mr. Edmund Bishop,[1] an office of the Blessed Virgin, which must be identical with the Hours, is mentioned as having been in use at Monte Cassino in the eighth century, and there are references to its being privately said at Augsburg and Verdun, and, more publicly, as a special devotion for Saturdays, at Einsiedeln, in the tenth century. From the close of the tenth century to the Conquest it appears to have been commonly used in England as part of the special cultus of the Blessed Virgin which characterised the English Church at that date. After the Conquest it fell for a time into disfavour, but by 1230 it is known to have been said daily at Salisbury, and its use was part of the settled practice of Lincoln, as shown by the Custumals of

[1] Introduction to *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer-book*, edited by Henry Little Hales. Part II. Early English Text Society, '1897,' pp. xxvi sqq.

Lincoln Cathedral dating from the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The discrepancies between these two accounts I must leave to liturgiologists to settle, only noting that Mr. Bishop's seems to be borne out by the testimony of the survival of manuscripts. The British Museum possesses two English MSS. of the eleventh century, in which the *Horae* of the Blessed Virgin are found as a separate office, but it is not until two centuries later that they appear again, and they then often occupy only a subordinate position among other offices. It was the Psalter, which at this period was the popular book of devotions, and as such received decorative treatment.

The rivalry between the Psalter and the *Horae* begins in England from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the British Museum possessing several good examples of English *Horae* of the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of its successor, though none which can compete in beauty with the splendid 'Queen Mary's' Psalter described by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in the first volume of *Bibliographica* (pp. 401-403). The finest English example of this period which I have seen is that of which two leaves were acquired for the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge by its ever generous benefactor, Mr. Samuel Sandars, at the Lawrence sale in 1892, and of which the rest was purchased at the Fountaine sale in 1894 by Mr. William Morris, who arranged with the Curators of the Fitzwilliam for their ultimate possession of the complete book. This *Horae* is illustrated with the charming grotesques which at that period found favour with English artists, and both in writing and decoration is a splendid specimen of English art.

The Fitzwilliam Museum already possessed

		Juillet ha. xxxi. iour.
		Et la lune. xxx.
xix	g	Saint tybault.
viij	A N	Saint procez
	b N	Saint apolin.
xvi	c N	Saint martin.
v	d N	Saint dominique.
	e N	Ct. saint pierre.
xiij	f N	Saint thomas.
ii	g Id	Saint procope.
	A Id	Saint zenon.
x	b Id	Les sept freres.
	c Id	Saint benoit.
xviij	d Id	Saint sist.
vij	e Id	Saint curien.
	f Id	Saint landri.
xv	g Id	Saint bertin.

Comment en memoire qu[illegible] cesar fist le kalendier ce mars qui est attribue:
car le dit iulius [illegible] ... [illegible] ... ioins es kalandes anciens

three English *Horae* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but neither the Fitzwilliam nor the British Museum has any corresponding example of French *Horae* which can be assigned with certainty to an earlier date than the very end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century; and it seems reasonable to conclude that the popularity of this book of devotion began more than a hundred years later in France than in England. But at the beginning of the fifteenth century French *Horae* become as numerous as they are splendid, and the type was gradually fixed, to which the subsequent printed editions conformed with more or less closeness.

In the introduction to one of the most useful contributions yet made to the history of books in manuscript, *The Descriptive Catalogue to the MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, issued last year from the Cambridge University Press, Mr. Montagu Rhodes James gives a brief but excellent account of the normal contents and arrangement of fifteenth century *Horae*, from which my own knowledge of the subject has gained considerably both in extent and in precision. In the typical book of Hours of this period we may expect to find the following parts in this order:—

1. Kalendar.
2. Cursus Evangelii.
3. Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
4. Hours of the Cross.
5. Hours of the Holy Ghost.
6. Seven Penitential Psalms and Litany.
7. Office of the Dead.
8. Memoriæ or Suffrages to various Saints.

Enlarging on what I have already said in my *Early Illustrated Books*, and checking my statements by the help of Mr. James, I may say a few

words on each of these sections, and on the pictorial illustrations to which they lent themselves.

The Kalendar occupies six or twelve leaves, according as one or two pages are devoted to each month. Both in manuscript and printed *Horae* it is usually found illustrated with the signs of the Zodiac and pictures of the occupations or pastimes appropriate to the month. As an example of such an illustrated Kalendar I give (Plate xviii.) a page from the famous Book of Hours usually referred to as the Bedford 'Missal,' illuminated in 1423-30 for John, Duke of Bedford. The page here shown is that for the month of July, with pictures of the zodiacal sign Leo, of a reaper gathering in the July harvest and of Julius Cæsar, after whom the month was named, in accordance with the inscription: 'Comment en memoire que iulius cesar fist le kalendier ce moys lui est attribue: car le dit iulius repara et mist en ordonnance les moys de lan qui estoict confus es kalandes anciens.'

In the sixteenth century, when *Horae* began rapidly to decline from their early beauty, Kalendars are found illustrated, especially in the editions of Kerver, with pictures, identifying each month with one of the Twelve Ages (each of six years) in a man's life. But these lie outside the scope of the present paper.

The Cursus Evangelii consists primarily of four passages or *sequentiae* (John i. 1-14, Luke i. 26-38, Matthew ii. 1-12, Mark xvi. 14-20), setting forth the Incarnation, Annunciation, Adoration of Christ by the Magi, and His last words and Ascension. The *sequentiae* are mostly succeeded by the story of the Passion, from John xviii. and xix., and sometimes by two prayers to the Blessed Virgin beginning 'Obsecro te domina' and 'O intemerata,' but these

eus in adiutorium
meum intende:
Domine ad ad
iuuandum me festina.

are also found in other positions. This section is found illustrated by pictures of the Evangelist St. John, writing his gospel or standing unhurt in the cauldron of boiling oil; of the Fall either of Lucifer and his Angels, or of Adam and Eve; of the Betrayal or Crucifixion.

In some verses quoted by Maskell, from an English *Horae* of the fifteenth century, the relation is set forth which was supposed to exist between each of the canonical hours and an event in the life of the Virgin. The verses are rude enough, but I quote them here in a modernised spelling, because they give the key-note to the scheme of illustrations of the Hours themselves.

Ad Laudes:

How Mary, the mother and virgin,
Visited Elizabeth, wife of Zachary,
Which said, 'Blessed be thou, cousin;
And blessed be the fruit of thy body.'

Ad Primam:

How Jesu Christ right poorly born was,
In an old crib laid all in poverty,
At Bethleem, by an ox and an ass,
Where Mary blessed His nativity.

Ad Tertiam:

How an Angel appeared in the morn,
Singing, 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo;'
Saying, 'The very Son of God is born,
Ye Shepherds of Bethleem, ye may go.'

Ad Sextam:

How three kings of strange nations,
Of Christ's birth having intelligence,
Unto Bethleem brought their oblations,
Of gold, of myrrh, and frankincense.

Ad Nonam:

Simeon, at Christ's circumcision,
These words unto the Jews did tell,
'My eyen beholdeth your redemption,
The light and glory of Israel.'

Ad Vesperas:

How Mary and Joseph with Jesus were fain
Into Egypt, for succour, to flee,
When the Innocents for His sake were slain,
By commission of Herod's cruelty.

Ad Completorium:

How Mary assumpted was above the skies,
By her Son as sovereign lady,
Received there among the hierarchies,
And crowned her the queen of glory.

From these verses we see that the subjects for the seven Hours were practically fixed, the illustrator's only choice lying between the Flight into Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents for Vespers, and the death of the Virgin or her coronation for Compline. The chief variety which we find is in the treatment of the Shepherds. As in the accompanying illustration (Plate xix.), from Add. MS. 16,997 in the British Museum, the artists often preferred to think that the shepherds had their wives with them, when the angels appeared, and they thus converted the subject into a charming little pastoral scene. The picture of the Nativity also could be varied by the absence or presence of the shepherds, who, in Pigouchet's latest illustration of the theme, are shown kneeling beside the crib, with the familiar names which they bore in the French miracle plays, inscribed close to them (fig. 14).

The Hours of the Cross, and the Hours of the Holy Ghost, were naturally illustrated, the first by the finding or 'Invention' of the Cross by the Emperor Constantine, or the Crucifixion, the second by the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. The Matins of these Hours are often found breaking the sequence of the Hours of the Virgin, by being interpolated between her Matins and Lauds.

ant. Placebo domino. ꝑ.
Dilexi quoniam ex
audiet dominus: vo
cem orationis mee.

The Penitential Psalms almost always have prefixed to them a picture of David, sometimes merely as the slayer of Goliath, or as the sacred singer; but more often spying from his window upon Bathsheba, or confronted with the choice of punishments offered him for his numbering the people. The picture of David and Bathsheba is sometimes accompanied by a vigorous battle-scene showing the death of Uriah.

The Office of the Dead, *i.e.* the Vespers, Matins, and Lauds, said over the dead body when placed in the choir, is found illustrated, alternatively, by pictures of the funeral service in the choir, as in the page shown from Add. MS. 18,192 in the British Museum (Plate xx.), of a burial, of Dives and Lazarus, mostly in life, but sometimes after each had gone to his own place, of the Last Judgment, and of the *trois vifs* and *trois morts*, three cavaliers, mostly engaged in hunting, meeting three corpses.

The Prayers to God and the Saints are often headed by a representation of the Trinity, in which God the Father is seen upholding the crucified Son, while the Holy Dove is hovering above. The pictures to the other prayers give representations, mostly quite small, of the Saints to whom they are addressed; but one or more Saints are sometimes honoured with a larger illustration.

A few other pictures have to be mentioned. Thus the Kalendar is usually preceded by the figure of a man, with a jester crouching beneath his legs, and with indications of the parts of his body under the influences of the different planets; often also by a chalice showing the measure of the wound made in Christ's side. In Pigouchet's later *Horae*, again, we find the Tree of Jesse and a picture symbolical of the Church Militant and Trium-

phant. A few editions also have one or more pictures peculiar to themselves, but any which have not been mentioned above are very unusual.

ANTOINE VÉRARD'S 'HORAE' OF 1486-87

The first printed French Book of Hours which has yet come to light was published by that enterprising man Antoine Vérard, on the twenty-first of August 1486, the year after he began his long career. It is a shabby little prayer-book, its text measuring $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, illustrated by ten rude cuts, intended merely as guides to the illuminator, who was to colour them by hand. Only its early date, and the fact that the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale (too heavily coloured to be photographed) is apparently unique, entitles this book to the honour of a special description, which I here give—

Colophon: Ces heures furēt acheues le xxie / iour de aoust m . iiii . c . iiii. xx. et vi. po^{r} / āthoine verard libraire demourt [sic] a / paris alymage saint iohan leuauge / [l]iste sur le pōt nostre dame ou au pa / [l]oys du roy nostre sire au premier pil / ier deuant la chapelle o on chante la / messe de mes seigneurs les presidens.

Collation: 120 ff. 17 ll. 12 unsigned leaves, containing the calendar, followed by sigs A^{4} B^{4} a^{8}–h^{8} i^{10} k^{6} l^{8} m^{8} n^{4}.

Cuts ($3 \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ in.). Annunciation, B_4 verso; Salutation, b_1; Nativity, c_2; Shepherds, c_5 verso; Magi, c_8 verso; Circumcision, d_3 verso; Flight into Egypt, d_6 verso; Coronation of Virgin, e_4; the Trinity, g_6; a Funeral, i_6.

Copy known: Bibliothèque Nationale, Vélins 2868.

This *Horae* was succeeded, on the 7th July 1487, by a similar edition (quoted by Brunet as the first) in which there are eleven cuts, one of which, that of the Annunciation, is used twice, besides numerous small ones. The thick colouring makes comparison of the two editions somewhat difficult, but

it is evident that while some of the cuts are the same in both, in others new renderings of the same subject have been substituted, and some new ones have been added. As before, I give a collation, for the sake of the historical interest which so early and so rare an edition may be supposed to possess; but the rudeness of the cuts makes them of little value from my special point of view.

Colophon: Ces heures furēt acheues le vii^{e} io^{r} / de iuilet m . iiii . c . iiii. xx. ⁊ vii p āthoi / ne verard libraire demourāt apris a / lymage saīt iohā leuāgeliste sur le / pōt nrē dāe ou au palois du roy nr̄e / sire au p̄mier pillier deuāt la chapel / le o on chāte la messe des p̄sidens.

Collation: 143 ff. 12 unsigned leaves followed by sigs A^{8} a^{8} b^{8} c^{6+1} d^{8}- l^{8} m^{14} o^{8} p^{8} q^{4}.

Cuts ($3 \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ in.): Annunciation; Nativity, d_1; Shepherds d_4 verso; Magi, d_8 verso; Circumcision, e_3 verso; Flight into Egypt, e_6 verso; Coronation of Virgin, f_3 verso; David praying, f_8 verso; Funeral h_6; Annunciation repeated, m_{11} verso; S. Christopher, p_3; S. Sebastian, p_5 verso. Besides numerous smaller ones measuring $1 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Copy known: Bibliothèque Nationale, Vélins 1630.

JEAN DU PRÉ

In the light of our present information we must assign to Vérard the credit of having produced the first illustrated French *Horae*. But I am inclined to think that the man who led the way in issuing editions of real artistic value was not Vérard but Jean Du Pré, or, as he styles himself in his Latin editions, Joannes de Prato. Vérard's claims rest on the assumption that his *Grandes Heures* or *Heures Royales*, by which he is chiefly known as a publisher of *Horae*, were first issued in 1488; but I have met with no example dated earlier than

the 8th February 1489-90, and the assertions of the existence of the 1488 edition seem to rest exclusively on that fruitful source of error, the appearance, in various undated examples, of the calendar of moveable feasts from 1488 to 1508. On the other hand we have from the press of Jean Du Pré an *Heures à lusaige de Rome*, dated the 4th February 1488-89, which Vérard undoubtedly took as a model for one of his small editions, called *Les Figures de la Bible*, finished on the 5th April 1489, *i.e.* 1489-90. There are also two Latin undated *Horae ad usum Romanum* by Jean Du Pré, which, I think, should be regarded as very early work. There is also a third *Horae* closely resembling these two, which bears on it a mark found in several books printed by Cayllaut, but the type in which, M. Claudin tells me, has not yet been identified with any he is known to have used, and is identical with one of Du Pré's. It is possible that this book may have been a joint venture of Cayllaut and Du Pré. In any case it is with Du Pré's Latin editions that it must be ranged.

HORE AD VSUM ROMANUM. JO. DE PRATO.
HORE AD VSUM ROMANUM. [CAYLLAUT'S MARK.]

It is certainly a piece of ill-luck that the three Latin *Horae* we have now to consider I only know from single copies, and that these copies are severally preserved at London, Oxford, and Paris. All approximate to the size $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and they have several points in common. The rudest of the three is that in the British Museum, and we can date this with some certainty as earlier than 19th February 1488-89, for on that day Pierre Levet finished printing

a Psalter,[1] in which the cut of David, here reproduced (fig. 1) from Du Pré's *Horae* occurs with fresh

FIG. 1.—FROM A 'HORE AD VSUM ROMANUM,' BY JEAN DU PRÉ. (B.M.)

breaks in its lower border. The *Horae* is thus approximately dated, and we have evidence of friendly

[1] Psalmoꝝ opus ī laudē dei cūctipotētis di/uinitꝯ cōscriptū finit felicit̄. exaratūqꝫ in/geniosissime Parisiꝯ per Petrū leuet An/no dñi M. cccc. lxxx. viii. xix februarii. Copies in University Library, Cambridge, and Bibliothèque Nationale.

relations between Levet and Du Pré. But among the cuts in the Levet Psalter is a little picture of the Massacre of the Innocents, and this identical cut occurs also in a similar Psalter finished by Cayllaut just three weeks earlier.[1] Moreover our third *Horae*,

FIG. 2.—FROM A 'HORE AD VSUM ROMANUM,' BY JEAN DU PRÉ. (B.M.)

with Cayllaut's mark, is printed, according to M. Claudin, in the same type as Du Pré's *Heures* of February 1488-89, and contains some of the cuts

[1] Parisius per Anthonium cayllaut Anno dñi. M. cccc. Lxxxviii. xxviii Januarii. Copy in University Library, Cambridge.

from Cayllaut's January Psalter. The liturgical work of the three printers is thus interlaced in a curious manner, and as all three are important figures in the history of the Paris press, we can only hope that some further light may be thrown on the relations thus indicated.[1] From the British Museum *Horae* I give two illustrations, the 'David' already alluded to, and the opening cut of S. John (fig. 2). I append also a description and collation:

Title: Hore ad vsum romanum. / Jo. de prato.

Collation: 124 ff., 21 ll. Four sheets of eights unsigned, followed by C^{8}-E^{8} F^{10} G^{6} H^{8} I^{8} K^{12} a^{8}-c^{8}.

Description: fol. 1, Title with anatomical man on verso; fol. 2, Petit almanach pour vingt ans; fol. 2 verso-fol. 8 Calendar; fol. 8 verso, Salutatio ad Virginem; fol. 9-16, Harmony of Passion; fol. 17-24, Sequence of Gospels and Prayers; fol. 24 verso-32+C-F_5, Hours of the Virgin; F_5 verso-G_6, Penitential Psalms and Litany; G_6 verso-K_8; Vigiliae Mortuorum; $K_{9, 10}$, Hours of the Cross; $K_{11, 12}$, Hours of the Holy Spirit; a-c, Suffrages; c_{1-8}, plusieurs deuotes louẽges, peticions, oraisons & requestes.

Cuts: Anatomical man, fol. 1 verso; Crucifixion and journey to Calvary, fol. 9; the Betrayal, fol. 11; S. John (see fig. 2), fol. 17; small Annunciation set in Tree of Jesse, fol. 24 verso; Annunciation, fol. 25; Nativity, C_4 verso; Shepherds, C_7; Magi, D; Circumcision, D_3; Flight into Egypt, D_5; Coronation of Virgin, D_8 verso; David, F_5 verso (see fig. 1); les Trois Vifs et Trois Morts, G_6 verso, H; Dives and Lazarus, a soul dragged to Hell, H_5; Crucifixion (repeated) K_9; Pentecost, Christ's Baptism and Temptation, K_{11}; God the Father upholding the crucified Christ, a; the dead Christ on Mary's lap, a_4 verso; Vision of S. Gregory, c_5 verso; Christ in glory, c_7.

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[1] M. Delisle has recently discovered at Berne a fragment of an earlier Levet Psalter, printed in the same type, and containing a colophon worded exactly in the same way as that of the edition of 1488, but dated 'anno M.cccc.lxxxvi, xxiii.septembris,' and we may guess that it was for this edition that the cuts were designed. In the same binding are two fragments of *Horae*, one of them with a cut of scenes in the life of S. John, which would seem to be a different example of the same family of editions as those I am describing. (Documents parisiens de la Bibliothèque de Berne. Par L. Delisle. Extrait des *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, t. xxiii. pp. 266-70.)

In the 'Jo. de Prato' *Horae* at Oxford (Douce 52) the Cursus Evangelii is illustrated by pictures of the Crucifixion and S. John (figs. 3 and 4), the Hours of the Virgin by the usual cuts, that of the

FIG. 3.—FROM A 'HORE AD VSUM ROMANUM,' BY JEAN DU PRÉ. (BODL.)

Annunciation being apparently missing, the Penitential Psalms by the Last Judgment, while the cuts in the rest of the book, from the 'Trois Vifs' onward, have exactly the same subjects and come in

the same order as those in the edition at the British Museum. The work, however, is much finer, as our reproductions show, and I suppose therefore that we must regard it as later, though the progression from

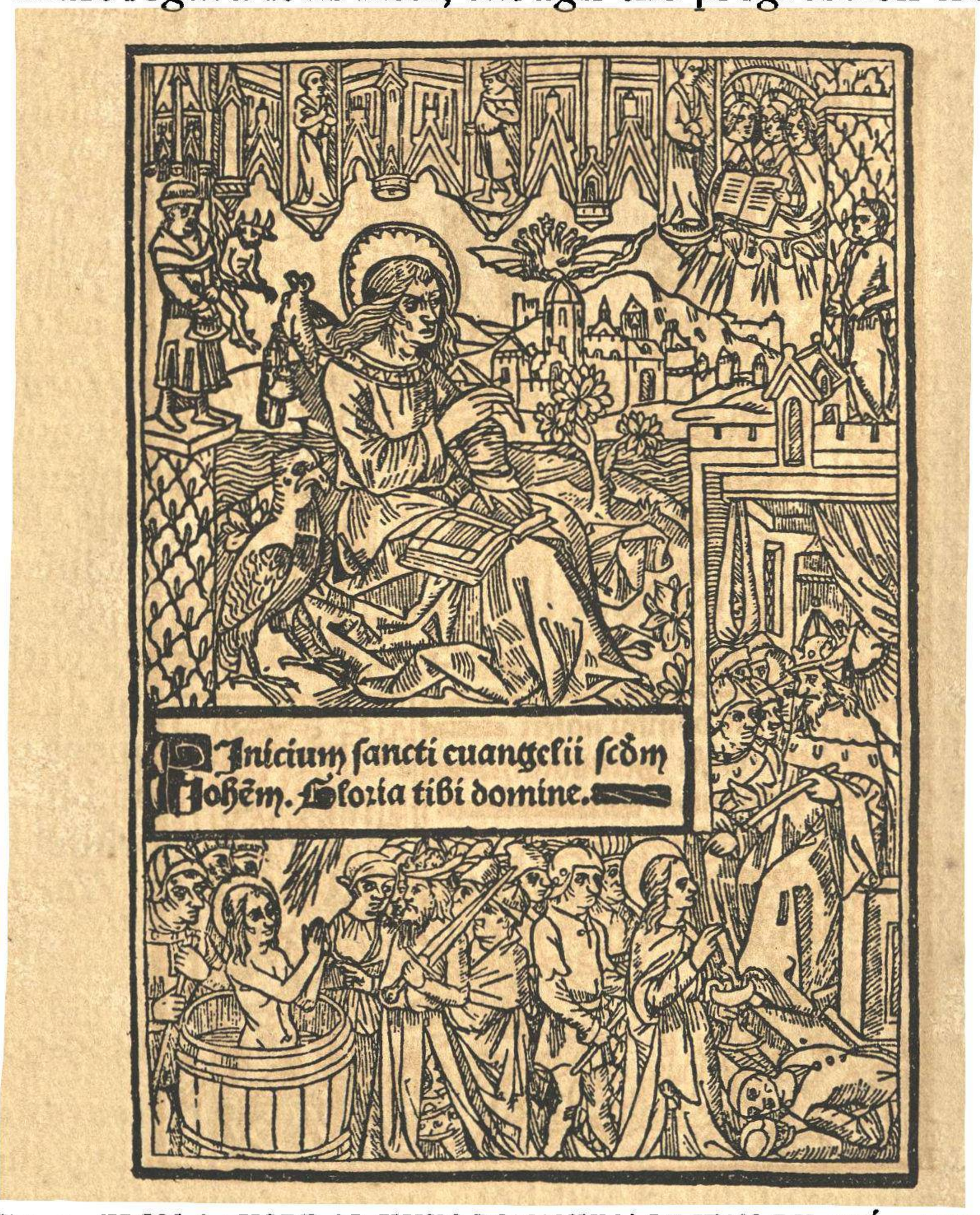


FIG. 4.—FROM A 'HORE AD VSUM ROMANUM,' BY JEAN DU PRÉ. (BODL.)

rude work to fine in French illustrated books is by no means so steady as to form a safe basis for a chronological arrangement.

In the Cayllaut *Horae* in the Bibliothèque

Nationale (vélins, 1643), with his mark[1] bearing the motto 'Vng Dieu, Vng Roy, Vngne Loy, Vngne Foy,' we find the cuts in the following order :—

S. John, a; Annunciation, a_8; Crucifixion, b; Annunciation, a small cut surrounded by others of the life of the Virgin, c; Visitation, and the Virgin working at a loom, c_8; Crucifixion, repeated, d_7 verso; Pentecost, d_8; Nativity, e verso; Shepherds, e_4; Magi, e_8; Circumcision, f_3; Massacre of Innocents, f_6; Coronation of Virgin, g_3; David and Goliath, David and Bathsheba, i_2; Trois Morts, k_7 recto; Lazarus and Dives, Dives in Hell, l_2 verso; Plaga Christi, r^8. With small cuts of the Trinity on o, and of the Dead Christ in Mary's lap, on A_5 and O_3.

For an illustration from this interesting *Horae* (fig. 5) I am indebted to the kindness of Mademoiselle Pellechet, whose unique collection of photographs is a valuable feature in the great work she is doing for French incunabula. I should be inclined to place the edition rather before than after 1490.

An imperfect copy of a larger *Horae*, with Cayllaut's mark ($5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ in.), probably later in date, is in the British Museum. In addition to most of the cuts just described, this has one which combines the 'Plaga Christi' with the 'Crucifixion,' while it takes its 'Dives' cut from the 'Jo. de Prato' *Horae* (B. M. edition). The borders are poor.

DU PRÉ'S 'HEURES A LUSAIGE DE ROME,' 1489-90

As we have seen, both of the French *Heures a lusaige de Rome*, printed by Jean Du Pré, have the advantage of dates, and both are of extreme interest, that of 8th February 1488-89 being, as far as we can judge, the real starting-point of the endless editions of Hours which succeeded each other with such rapidity for the next half century. The page of text

[1] Attributed by a slip, in the *Inventaire des livres sur vélin*, to Galliot Du Pré.

FIG. 5.—FROM A 'HORE AD VSUM ROMANUM,' WITH CAYLLAUT'S MARK. (BIB. NAT.)

measures $5\frac{5}{8}$ by $3\frac{5}{8}$ in., and I append a description :—

Title: [Mark of Jehan du pre :] Ces presentes heures a lusaige de rõme ont / este imprimees a paris: ꝑ Jehan du pre demou-/rãt en la grãt rue saint iaques a lensaigne des / deux signes.

Colophon: Ces presẽtes heures a lusaige de rõe / furẽt acheuees a paris p Jehã du pre le / iiii. iour de feurier en lan mil. iiii. cccc. / iiii. xx. et viii.

Collation: 104 ff. 27-30 ll. Eight unsigned leaves followed by sigs. a^8 b^4 c^8-i^8 k^4 l^8-n^8.

Description: fol. 1, Title, with figure of anatomical man on verso; fol. 2, Almanach pour vingt ans (1488-1508); fol. 2 verso-4 verso, Repertoire des histoires; fol. 5-8 + sigs. a, a_2 Kalendar; a_3-b_4 Cursus Evangelii; c-g^4 recto, Hours of the Blessed Virgin, with Matins of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit interpolated: g^4 verso-h^5 verso, Penitential Psalms, Litany, etc.; h^6-k^4 Vigilie Mortuorum; l-n^8 Suffragia.

Cuts: Anatomical Man, fol. 1 verso; Fall of Angels (fig. 7), a_8; Descent from Cross, with symbols of the four evangelists in corners, b_3; Annunciation, with scenes from life of the Virgin in smaller compartments, c; Visitation, c_6 verso; Crucifixion, d_4; Pentecost, d_5; Nativity, d_6; Shepherds, d_8 verso; Magi, e_2 verso; Circumcision, e_4 verso; Massacre of Innocents, e_6 verso; Coronation of Virgin, f_2; Death of Uriah, g_4 verso; David and Bathsheba, g_5; Death slaying Kings, h_6; smaller cut, 'De sanctissima trinitate, l; Suppliant praying to Virgin, 'Mater dei memēto mei,' a blank shield hung on a tree (fig. 8), l_3 verso; S. Christopher, m_2; S. Mary Magdalene, m_6; Vision of S. Gregory, n_4. With smaller cuts to the *Suffragia.*

Copies known: British Museum, and one quoted by Brunet seen by M. Claudin.

The borders which surround every page are of two kinds, ledges or chainwork (leaving room for thirty lines of text), as in fig. 7, and little vignettes (leaving room for twenty-seven lines of text) as in fig. 6. These vignettes are one of the distinguishing features of this *Horae*, and Du Pré attached so great importance to them that he gives up five pages to describing the chief series. I quoted the beginning of this description in my *Early Illustrated Books*, but it is so important that I must repeat the first few lines here, with the advantage of being able to give as an illustration the first of the pages alluded to, in which we see in the central vignette 'la nativite nostre dame,' while above and

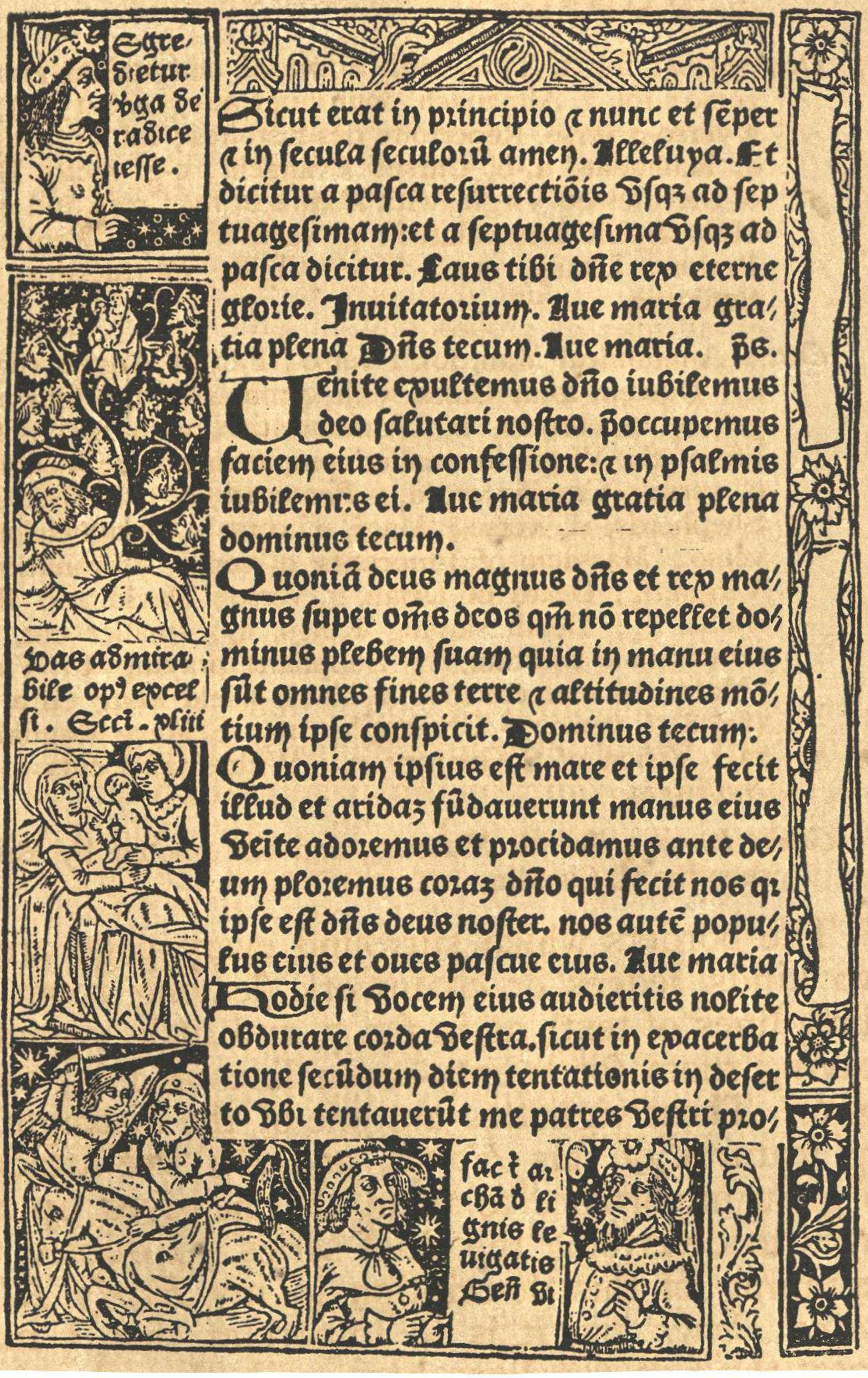

Sicut erat in principio ℟ nunc et semper
℟ in secula seculorū amen. Alleluya. Et
dicitur a pasca resurrectiōis usq ad sep
tuagesimam: et a septuagesima usq ad
pasca dicitur. Laus tibi dñe rex eterne
glorie. Inuitatorium. Aue maria gra℣
tia plena dñs tecum. Aue maria. ℘s.
Venite exultemus dño iubilemus
deo salutari nostro. ℘occupemus
faciem eius in confessione: ℟ in psalmis
iubilemus ei. Aue maria gratia plena
dominus tecum.
Quoniā deus magnus dñs et rex ma℣
gnus super oēs deos qm nō repellet do℣
minus plebem suam quia in manu eius
sūt omnes fines terre ℟ altitudines mō℣
tium ipse conspicit. Dominus tecum:
Quoniam ipsius est mare et ipse fecit
illud et aridaz fūdauerunt manus eius
Veite adoremus et procidamus ante de℣
um ploremus coraz dño qui fecit nos q
ipse est dñs deus noster. nos autē popu℣
lus eius et oues pascue eius. Aue maria
Hodie si vocem eius audieritis nolite
obdurare corda vestra. sicut in exacerba
tione secūdum diem tentationis in deser
to vbi tentauerūt me patres vestri pro℣
Das admira
bile op' excel
si. Ecci. xliii
facit ar
chā d li
gnis le
uigatis
Hes si

FIG. 6.—FROM THE 'HEURES A LUSAIGE DE ROME,' BY JEAN DU PRÉ
4TH FEBRUARY 1488-89

below this are the pre-figurements 'iesse et balaan,' much as in an edition of the 'Biblia Pauperum.'

> Cest le repertoire des histoires ꝛt figures de la / bible tant du vieilz testamēt q̄ du nouueau ꝛte/nues dedens les vignettes de ces presentes heu/res imprimees en cuyure. En chascune desq̄lles / vignettes sōt contenues deux figures du vieilz / testamēt signifians une vraye histoire du nou/ueau. Cōme il appert par les · chapitres cottez et / alleguez au propos, tant en latin que en frācoys / en chascune desd' figures et histoires /. ¶ Et premierement en la pagee ensuyuante li/stoire de lannūciation. Est p̄figuree la natiuite / nostre dame · come il appert par les deux figures / de iesse et balaan · prouue par le liure de isaye · xi chapitre[1] et des nōbres xxiiii chap./ ¶ Item en lautre pagee ensuyuāte ꝑ Rebecca / et sara · est entēdu cōme nostre dame fut espousee / a ioseph · aīsi q̄on lit en genese · xxiiii c ꝛt tho. vi./

The series thus begins with the birth of the Blessed Virgin and is continued to the Day of Judgment, its orderly arrangement extending from c_1 verso to g_3, recommencing in repetition on g_5 verso and extending again to l_5. The other vignettes in the borders to the Calendar, Suffragia, etc., are mostly representations of saints, but for the story of the Passion appropriate selections are made from the main series.

It will be noted that in the 'repertoire des figures' we are distinctly told that they are 'imprimees en cuyure,' printed on copper, a fact which the nature of the lines could hardly have allowed us to doubt, but which it is satisfactory to have thus stated in indisputable terms. As we shall see, when Vérard reprinted this 'repertoire' he omitted the words 'en cuyure,' thereby clearly indicating that his own illustrations and borders were cut on wood,

[1] Isaiah xi. 1, 'Et egredietur virga de Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet'; Numbers xxiv. 17, 'Orietur stella ex Jacob et consurget virga de Israel.' The other quotations are from Ecclesiasticus xliii. 2, 'Sol in aspectu annuntians in exitu, vas admirabile opus Excelsi,' and from the command to Noah in Genesis vi. 14, 'Fac tibi arcam de lignis laevigatis.'

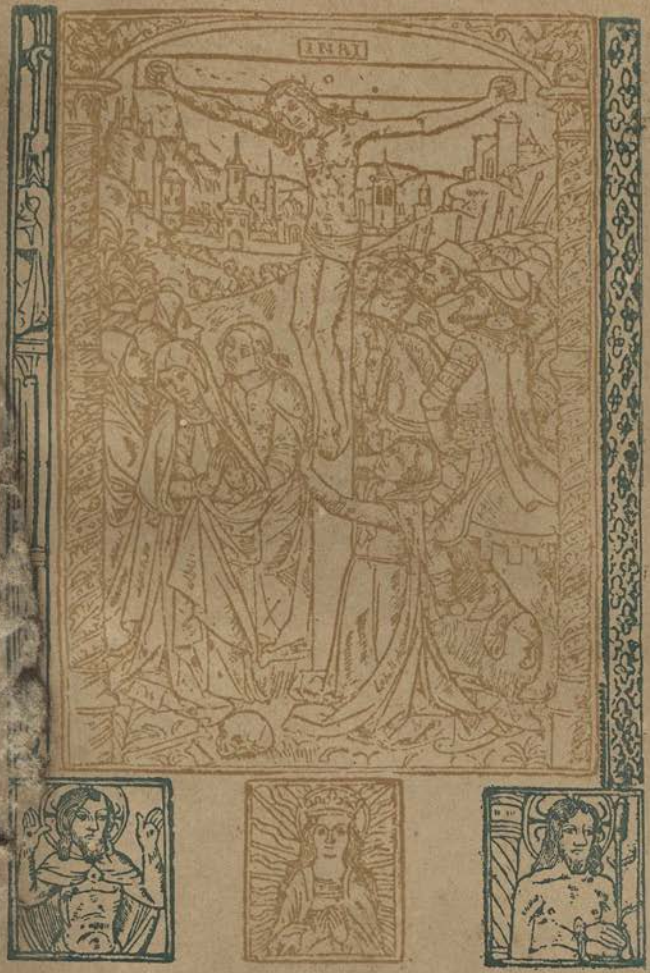
Initium sancti euāgelii scōm iohānem. Gloria.

In principio erat Verbū ⁊ Verbum erat apud deū. ⁊ deus erat Verbū. Hoc erat in principio apud deū. Dia p ipsum facta sūt et sine ipso factum est nichil. Quod factum est in ipso Vita erat

FIG. 7.—FROM THE 'HEURES A LUSAIGE DE ROME,' BY JEAN DU PRÉ. 4TH FEBRUARY 1488-89

and it is reasonable to suppose that the simpler cuts of the next few years were executed on this material. After 1495 there was an increasing employment of copper, which culminated in the fine work produced just at the turn of the century from 1498 to 1502, mainly under the direction of Pigouchet, who, I believe, was greatly indebted to the artist of this *Horae* of Jean Du Pré for several of his designs. It would be interesting to point this out by means of reproductions of some of the stock subjects, but it seemed better on the whole to represent this rare edition by two of its more unusual illustrations, and I have therefore chosen the 'Fall of the Angels,' and the very interesting imitation of the common practice in manuscripts of placing a picture of the owner of the prayer-book, before the prayer beginning *O intemerata*. In the case of a printed *Horae* the picture of course could not be made individual, but the blank shield was left to be filled in with the owner's arms, and in the British Museum copy has actually been pasted over with a printed coat, though to all appearance quite a late one.

Du Pré's other dated *Horae* is certainly no less interesting than the foregoing, and stands by itself, as far as I am aware, in having its illustrations, both large and small, printed with inks of different colours. That of the Magi (reproduced on Plate xxi.), by the overlapping of the red ink on the lower lines of the blue, shows decisively that both colours were printed at the same impression, each being laid on its own plate with a care which seems only to have failed in this one instance. There are no borders to the pages; but the little vignettes, of which examples are shown on our plate, are placed sometimes at the foot of the page, sometimes at the sides, though by no means on every page, and there are


INRI

Gloriuse vierge marie a toy me rēs a si te
prie a tu me vueilles aider en tout ce que
O intemerata et ineternum bene/
dicta singularis atqz incōpara
bilis virgo dei genitrix maria
gratissimum dei templū spūs
scti sacratiū ianua regni celoꝝ p: quem
iay mespier. Doulce da/ mede dōnaire
De tous biens faicteurs cō/ emplaire.

FIG. 8.—FROM THE 'HEURES A LUSAIGE DE ROME,' BY JEAN DU PRÉ, 4TH FEBRUARY 1488-89

also similar vignettes of the saints, etc., all printed in colours. The first and second larger pictures appear to be printed from the same plates as in the previous edition. I append a full description of this interesting little book, of which I know of no copy except that in the British Museum.

[Mark of 'Jehan du pre' in green].

Title: ¶ Ces presentes heures a lusaige de rōme ont este / imprimees a paris p Jehan du pre demourāt en la / grāt rue saint iaques a lenseigne des deux signes / Lan mil quatre cens quatre vingtꝫ ⁊ dix . [Red.]

Collation: 120 ff. 23 ll. Sigs. [A], B, C, a-m in eights.

Description: [A] Title in green and red; [A_{2-7}] Calendar; [A_8] Specialis salutatio ad beatam virginem mariam; B-C_6, Cursus Evangelii; C_6 verso-C_8; Salue mater saluatoris; a-f, Hours of the Blessed Virgin with Matins of the Cross and Holy Spirit interpolated; f_2-g_3, Penitential Psalms, Litany, etc.; g_4-l_4, Vigilie Mortuorum; l_5-m_7, Suffragia; $m_7$verso - $n_8$verso, Almanach pour vingt ans, anatomical man, 'Cest la mesure de la playe de nrē saulueur.'

Cuts: Fall of Angels [A_8] (red with green); Descent from Cross, B_4 verso (red with blue); Crucifixion, B_7 verso (blue); Reconciliation of Joseph and Mary and Annunciation, C_8 verso (red); Visitation, Birth of the Virgin, a_6 (blue); Crucifixion (same cut) b_4 verso (red with blue, see Plate xxi.); Nativity, b_6 (blue); Pentecost, b_7 (blue with red); Shepherds, c_2 (red with blue); Magi, c_4 verso (red with blue, see Plate xxi.); Circumcision, c_7 (blue with red); Flight into Egypt, d verso (red with green); Coronation of Virgin, d_5 verso (red with green); David and Goliath, f_1 verso (blue with red); Dives and Lazarus in Hell and Heaven, g_3 verso (red with blue); The Trinity in Glory, i_4 verso (red with green); Tree of Jessè, i_7 verso (blue with red); S. Christopher, k_6 verso (red with blue); Anatomical Man, m_8 (black); la playe de nrē saulueur m_8 verso (red).

VÉRARD'S 'HORAE,' 1489-97

It was not to be expected that so enterprising a publisher as Vérard would rest content with the

very unpretentious *Horae* he produced in 1486 and 1487, but the precise date at which he first made a more ambitious essay is not easy to fix. The undated edition of his *Grandes Heures* for the use of Rome is constantly assigned to 1488, for no other reason than that it contains the 1488-1508 Almanac, although this continued in use for the next ten years, while the breaks in the borders of the cuts make it impossible that they could have appeared here for the first time. At the library at Toulouse there is, I am told, a Vérard *Horae ad usum Romanum*, dated 3rd April 1488, *i.e.* 1489,[1] and if this date be correct, this probably represents the first of Vérard's new editions. The earliest which I have seen myself is that dated *le viii iour de feurier lan mil. cccc. quatre vingtz & neuf* (*i.e.* 8th February 1490), a copy of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Vélins, 1632). This has borders to every page, its outside measurement being $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ in. (163 × 105 mm.), while the page within the borders is 5 × 3 in. (130 × 74 mm.). The borders are made up of pieces, which overlap the corners, and the most noteworthy feature in them are the children wrestling with each other, or playing with hobbies or go-carts. These appear to have passed before 10th July 1493 into the possession of Laurens Philippe, in whose *Horae* of that date they reappear (copy in British Museum, C. 41. c. 2).

The Hours of 8th February 1489-90 were succeeded on the tenth of April[2] by an edition which,

[1] In the fifteenth century the French year at Paris began at Easter; therefore any date after 1st January and before 6th April in 1488, 19th April in 1489, and 11th April in 1490, must be assigned, in our reckoning, to the succeeding year.

[2] le / x iour dauril lā mil / cccc. lxxxix /

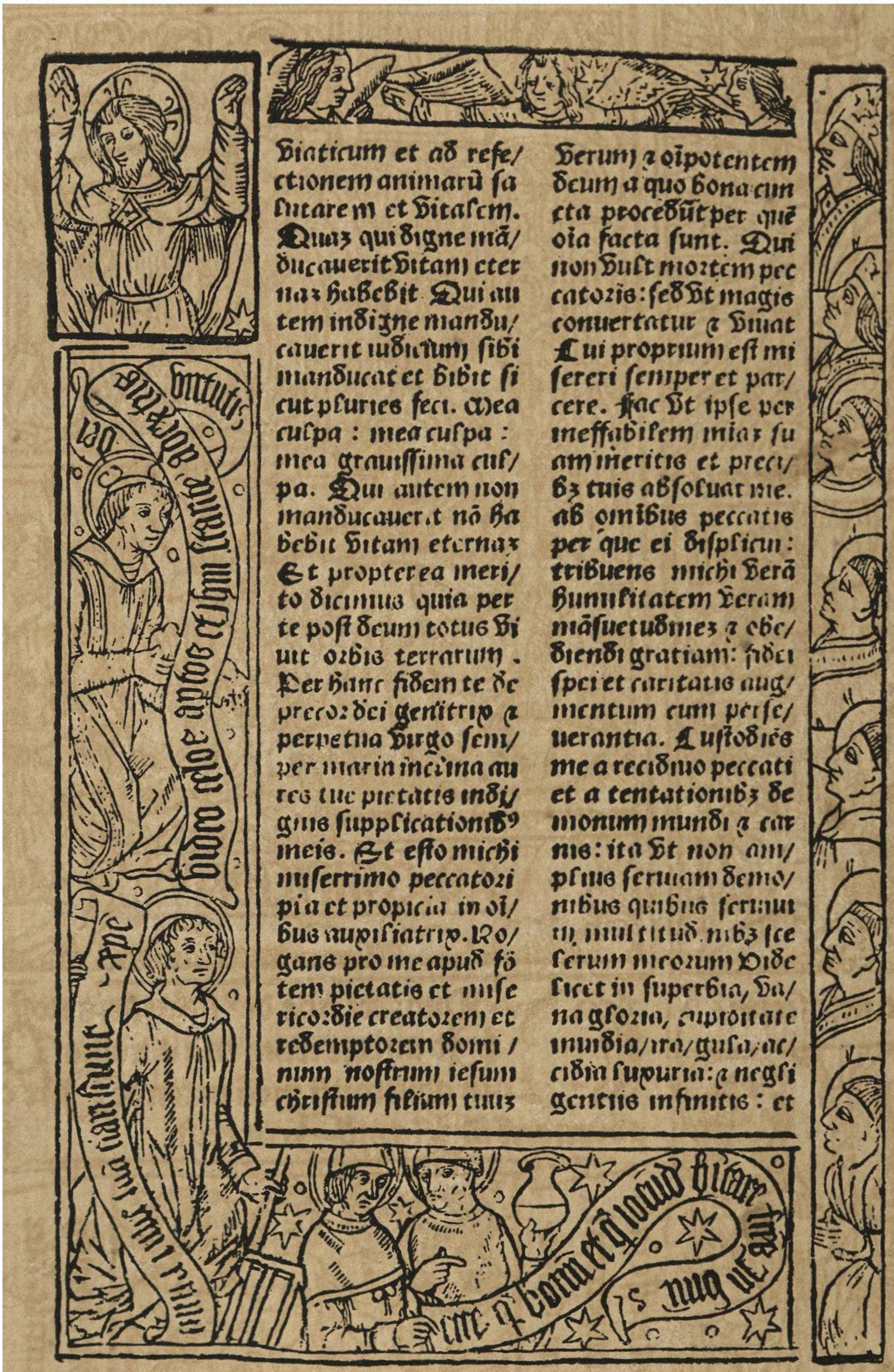


FIG. 9.—FROM VÉRARD'S 'LES FIGURES DE LA BIBLE,'
8TH FEBRUARY 1489 [1490]

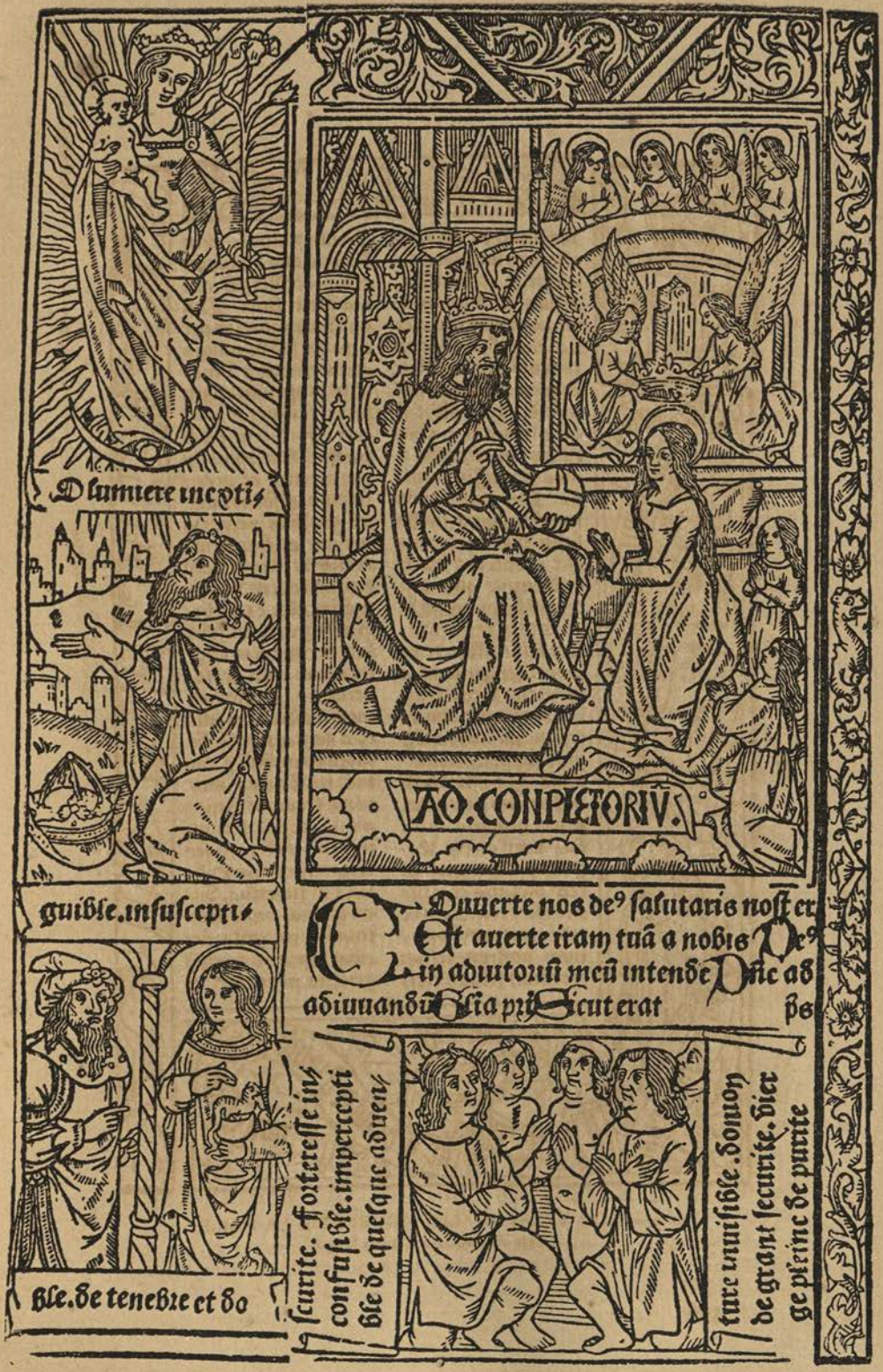


FIG. 10.—FROM THE UNDATED EDITION OF VÉRARD'S 'GRANDES HEURES'

though really a *Horae*, and spoken of as 'ces p*re*sentes heures' in the colophon, is called on the title-page *Les figures de la Bible*. This name it took from the prominence assigned in it to the series of types and antitypes which were closely copied from Du Pré's *Heures a lusaige de Rome* of February 1488-89. As already stated, along with the 'figures' themselves, Du Pré's description of them was copied also, with very slight verbal alterations and the important omission of the two words 'en cuyure.' Of the other borders in Vérard's edition a favourable specimen is shown in fig. 9, taken from an imperfect copy in the British Museum (C. 41. a. 9), in which the thinness of the vellum and the usage it has sustained must excuse the poverty of the reproduction. From a fragment of four leaves at the Bibliothèque Nationale (B. 23,957) we may guess that the edition dated '*le xx. iour de Juillet . mil cccc. quatre vingtz et dix*' (20th July 1490), though slightly smaller ($5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ in., instead of $6 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$), was closely similar in character.

On 20th August 1490 Vérard issued the earliest edition I have seen of the *Horae* usually called his *Grandes Heures* or *Heures royales*. Two copies of this edition are at the Bibliothèque Nationale (B. 1891 and B. 2941), and the undated edition usually assigned to 1488, but which I believe to be later than August 1490, resembles it almost exactly[1] (copies at British Museum, C. 35. h. 21, Bib. Mazarine 614, Bibliothèque Nationale, Vélins 1653, imperfect). The page here shown (fig. 10) from the copy of the undated edition in the British Museum gives a fair idea of its appearance, while at the same time exhibiting some of the breaks in the

[1] According to my notes the undated edition measures $8 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in., that of 1490 only 8×5; but different pages in the same edition often differ in size.

edges of the cut from which I argue its later date.

We have hitherto only looked at the borders in these editions published by Vérard, and must now turn to the larger pictures which, roughly speaking, are common to them all. The full set appears to have consisted of seventeen, viz.:

1. Cut to illustrate the 'oraison a la vierge marie de lacteur de ces presentes heures,' in a ruder style than the rest. 2. Anatomical Man. 3. Mesure de la playe. 4. Fall of Angels. 5. Creation of Eve and Fall. 6. Debate in Heaven between Misericorde, Justice, Paix and Raison, and Annunciation. 7. Reconciliation of Joseph and Mary, and Visitation (Ad Laudes). 8. Nativity and Adoration by Shepherds (Ad Priman [*sic*]). 9. Appearance of Angels to Shepherds, Shepherds dancing round tree (Ad Terciā). 10. Magi (Ad Sextam). 11. Circumcision (Ad Nonam). 12. Massacre of Innocents (Ad Vesperas). 13. Coronation of Virgin (Ad Completoriū). 14. David's Choice of Punishments (Tibi soli peccavi). 15. Hearse in Chancel (Pro Defunctis ad Vespe.). 16. Finding of the Cross. 17. Pentecost.

Vérard used these cuts, or most of them, in two other undated editions, one for the use of Rouen (Brit. Mus. C. 52. c. 13), the other for that of Sarum (Brit. Mus. C. 35. e. 4), also in a versified *Horae* beginning

> 'Lamour de dieu chacun bon crestien
> Doit acquerir en son commencement
> En desirant perseuerer en bien.'

of which a copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (B. 2914), and doubtless in other editions which I have not seen. All these must be earlier than 15th May 1498, for on that date Jehan Poitevin issued a *Horae* (Brit. Mus. C. 29. g. 6, and Sandars Coll. U. L. C.) in which Vérard's old cuts for Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline, figure alongside with copies of Pigouchet's second set. By this time they were

the worse for wear, and in Poitevin's edition of 2nd July (Mazarine 980, Arsenal 2946) the Vérard cut for Terce is replaced by another copy from Pigouchet, while by 15th October (Bib. Nat. Vélins 2863) the

FIG. 11.—FROM THE 'HEURES A LUSAIGE DE ROME,' PRINTED BY PIGOUCHET FOR VOSTRE, 8TH MAY 1492

Vérard set has disappeared altogether. As will be briefly mentioned later on, when Vérard sold his old cuts, he also had provided himself with copies of Pigouchet's second set, and to the work of this,

the most famous printer of Books of Hours, we must now turn.

PIGOUCHET'S 'HORAE,' 1491-95

The earliest *Horae* by Philippe Pigouchet, which I have myself seen, is an edition *a lusaige de Paris*, finished 1st December 1491, of which some copies were printed for de Marnef. Besides the nine normal pictures for the Hours of the Virgin (including the Flight into Egypt and her Coronation), of the Cross and the Holy Spirit, this has pictures of S. John writing and of the Betrayal for the Cursus Evangelii, of David's Choice of Punishments, of Les Trois Vifs et les Trois Morts and of Dives; also a small cut, with a *criblée* background, of the Vision of S. Gregory. The designs are rather stiff and clumsy, and have very little of the grace of Pigouchet's later work. In the December edition they are accompanied by side-pieces ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in.), with shorter borders at the foot of the page ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in.), which have the peculiarity of being marked with successive letters of the alphabet. First we have a set of the Creation marked a-l, then twelve in which the side-pieces in three compartments illustrate the texts quoted, while the foot-pieces represent the sibyls. Thus:—

a. Hic est filius meus dilectus.	Sibilla psica.
d (*sic*). Ego sum lux.	Sibilla libica.
c. Virgo salutatur.	Sibilla erithea.
d. Puer natus est nobis.	Sibilla cumana.
e. Ego in innocentia mea ingressus sum.	Sibilla sanne.
f. Hec est virga non irrigata.	Sibilla cyemeria.
g. Tolle puerum et matrem eius.	Sibilla europa.
h. Ego in flagella paratus sum.	Sibilla agrippa.
i. Faciem non auerti a conspuentibus.	Sibilla tiburtia.
k. data est ei corona.	Sibilla delphica.
l. Foderunt manus meas.	Sibilla aspontia.
m. ego dormiui et exurrexi.	Sibilla frigea.

Then we have a third set of types and antitypes, signed a-i; then a fourth set signed f-z; then the second set (a-m) is repeated, then the third, with different texts and a continuation to the end of the alphabet. Next comes a fifth set, signed A-Z; then the third is repeated, and then the fifth. Obviously the letters were only used to mark the sequence of the border-pieces which they somewhat disfigure, and perhaps for this reason they are not found in many editions.

On 5th January 1491-92, Pigouchet finished a *Horae* for the use of Rome, which has floral borders, and a different version of the picture of S. John, the other large cuts being the same. Altogether I know of six editions with this set of Pigouchet designs, viz. :—

1st Dec. 1491. Use of Paris. Brit. Mus., C. 29. h. 14 & 21.
5th Jan. 1491-92. Rome. Sandars Collection.
8th May 1492. Rome. Brit. Mus. C. 29. c. 8.
6th March 1492-93. Rouen. Bib. Nat. Vélins, 1546.
27th August 1493. Rome. Brit. Mus. C. 41. d. 5, Bib. Nat. Vélins, 1545.
30th July 1495. Lyon. Mazarine, 817*bis*

But Brunet cites editions of 20th Dec. and 15th Jan. 1494, and there were probably others.

PIGOUCHET'S 'HORAE,' 1496, ETC.

The first instance I have found of the use of Pigouchet's second set of cuts is in a *Horae* for the use of Rome, printed for Vostre, 20th August 1496, of which a copy on paper, in the finest possible condition, is in the Fitzwilliam, and one on vellum at the British, Museum. In this set the Flight into Egypt was substituted for the Massacre of the Innocents, the Death of the Virgin for her Coronation, and an uninviting picture of David and

GLORIA
IN ALTISSIMI DEO
ET IN TERRA PA
crurgẽs ioseph
a sõno accepit
cõiugẽ suam.
Pepit filiũ su
um primogenitũ
t pãnis cũ. tc.
Deus in adiutoriũ meũ intende. ne
ad adiuuandũ me festina Gloria patri
et filio: et spiritui sancto Sicut erat in

Bathsheba for David's Choice of Punishment, Les Trois Vifs et les Trois Morts being altogether

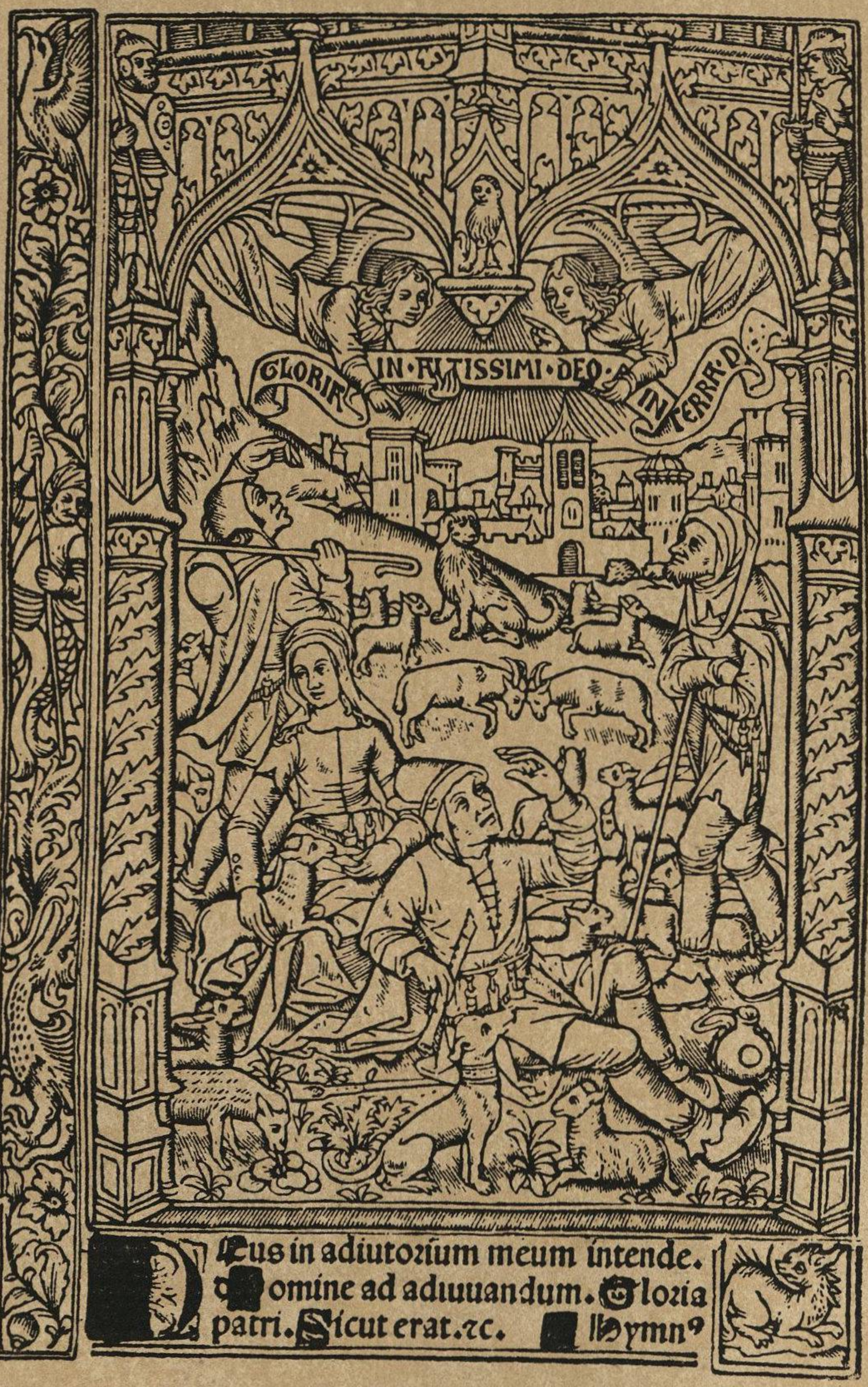


FIG. 12.—FROM THE 'HEURES A LUSAIGE DE ROME,' PRINTED BY PIGOUCHET FOR VOSTRE, 30TH MARCH, 1496-97

dropped. One or two of the new pictures, notably that of the Flight into Egypt, remained rather

heavy and coarse; but many of them are delightful, that of the Shepherds, here reproduced from an edition of 30th March 1496-97 (fig. 12), and again (Plate xxii.) from an edition of 16th September 1498, being one of the best. I hope that the frequency with which the Shepherds recur in the illustrations to this article will not prove wearisome, but for purposes of comparison there is an advantage in keeping to the same subject, whether the comparison be between the editions of Pigouchet and Kerver (figs. 12, 15, and 16), or, as here, between the two sizes which Pigouchet chose for his *Horae*, and between the uncoloured designs and those which are coloured in imitation of the miniatures in manuscripts. In my own judgment the colouring adds less charm than it takes away, and the prices at auctions show that this is the general opinion.

At the same time that he introduced his second set of large pictures Pigouchet published, for the first time, his Dance of Death, of which the beginning is shown in fig. 13, from the edition of 22nd August 1498. The figures in the Dance go in sets of three, and Pigouchet seems to have begun using them before he had completed the series of Death's victims among women. Thus, as against ten sets of men, there are only three sets of women characters in the edition of August 1496, viz.:

la veufue	la cheualiere	la royne
la marchãde	labbesse	la duchesse
la balliue	la feme descuier	la regente

In the edition of 17th September 1496 we find added

la chamberiere	lespousee
la recommanderesse	la mignote
la vieille damoiselle	la fille pucelle

Also

la cordeliere
la fēme daceul
la nourice
la bergere
la feme aux potences
la fēme de village.

In that of 23rd January 1496-97,

la theologienne
nouuelle mariee
la fēme grosse

In that of 30th March 1496-97,

la prieure
la damoiselle
la bourgoise
la garde dacouchees
la ieune fille
la religieuse

In that of 8th August 1497,

la vieille
la reuēderesse
lamoureuse
la sorciere
la bigote
la sote

Intermediate editions might help us to fix the dates of these editions more closely, and, on the other hand, allowance must be made for accidental omissions. It is clear, however, that Pigouchet added new subjects to the Dance from time to time, and he pursued the same method with the larger pictures and with other border-pieces. These later additions are all marked by the prominent use in them of the criblée work, which in the others only appears in accessories such as the hangings on David's window, the side of the table in the Circumcision, etc. A new anatomical man with criblée background was added in or before August 1497, but it is a year later, in the edition of 22nd August 1498, that the chief additions were made, a new 'mesure de la playe,' the Stem of Jesse, the Adoration by the Shepherds (fig. 14), the Death of Uriah, the

le·pape

lempereur

le·cardinal·

Jlexi quoniam exaudiet dominus: Vocē oratiōis mee. [redacted]uia inclinauit autē suam michi: et in diebus meis inuocabo. [redacted]ircundederunt me dolores mortis: & pericula inferni inuenerūt

t f.i.

FIG. 13.—FROM THE 'HEURES A LUSAIGE DE ROME,' PRINTED BY PIGOUCHET FOR VOSTRE, 22ND AUGUST 1498

Church Militant and Triumphant, and the Descent from the Cross.

As to the new border-pieces a separate article

FIG. 14.—FROM THE 'HEURES A LUSAIGE DE ROME,' PRINTED BY PIGOUCHET FOR VOSTRE, 22ND AUGUST, 1498

with fifty illustrations would be needed to describe these. Here I can only note that, by 15th October 1499, we find the following criblée additions:—

twenty-seven vignettes of Life of Joseph, eight of the History of the Prodigal Son, twelve of that of Susanna, part of a set of the xv Tokens of Judgment, a border of Christ in Judgment (with a picture of the same subject), the twelve sibyls, the seven Cardinal Virtues each combating its opposite, and full length side-pieces of a Shepherd, Woodman, Bagpiper (two varieties), Huntsmen (two varieties), and Apple-gathering. Equipped with all these new additions, Pigouchet and his publisher, Simon Vostre, continued issuing *Horae* of the utmost beauty during the first three or four years of the sixteenth century. After this they yielded to the new taste for engravings of German origin, and there I must leave them.

HOURS OF DE MARNEF AND OF GERING AND REMBOLT

The history of the remaining editions of *Horae* printed at Paris before 1500, may be the more easily told because almost all of them had some relation with those of Pigouchet. It is probable, indeed, that of the first of them the *Heures a lusage de Rōme . . . imprimez a Paris pour Jeoffroy de Marnef*, 20th June 1493, he was actually the printer,[1] as they contain the same borders, marked with letters of the alphabet, as the *Heures a lusaige de Paris* of December 1491, and one of the same cuts, the smaller of the two versions of the S. John, which measures only 71 mm. across instead of 78. The other pictures, from their technique, were plainly cut by the same workmen as Pigouchet's first set, but are quite different from them, being

[1] A pencil note in the Museum copy (C. 29. f. 18) states that a copy exists with Pigouchet's name.

designed after the fashion of the *Biblia Pauperums*, with the main picture in the upper half, and two

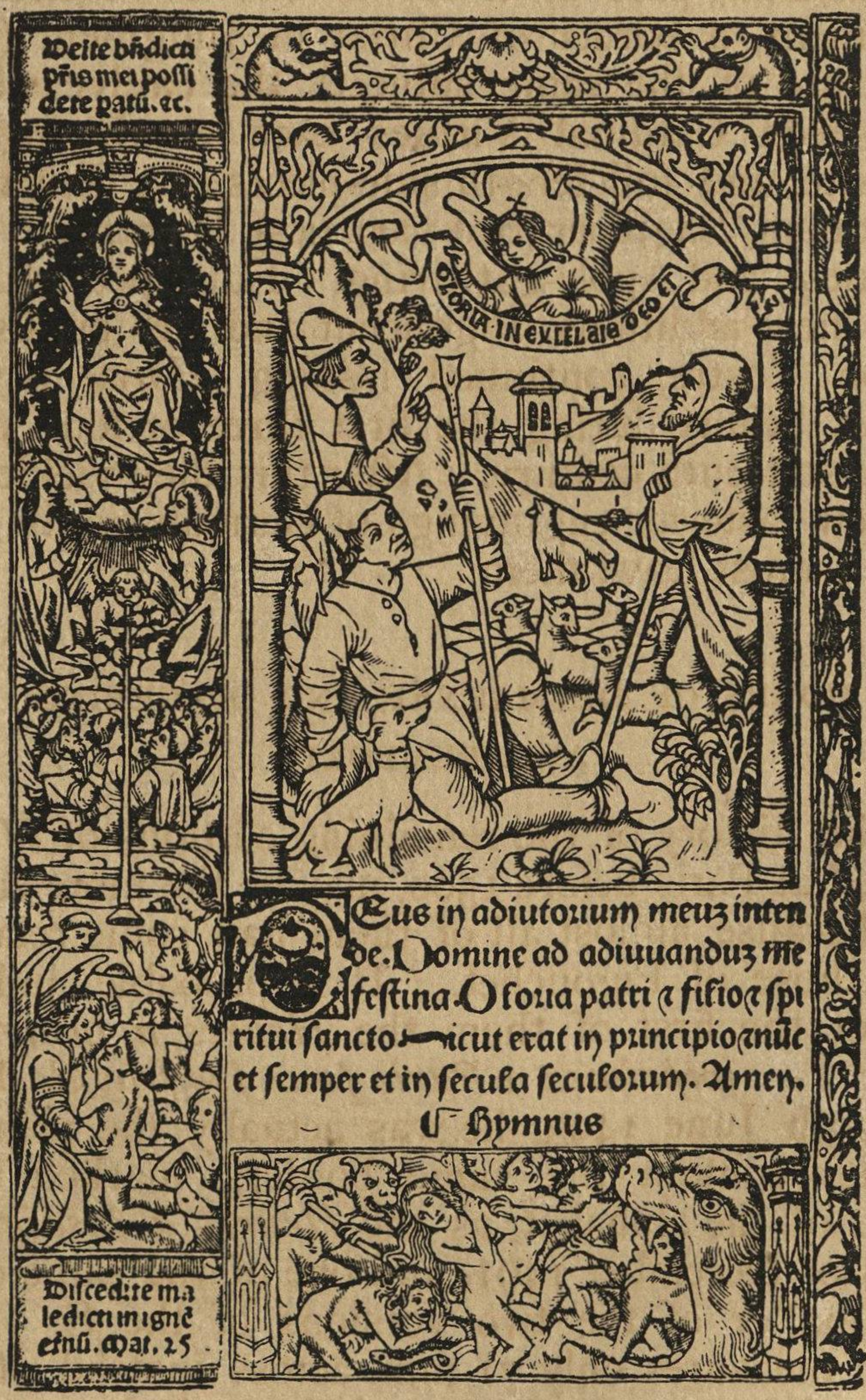


FIG. 15.—FROM AN 'OFFICIUM BEATE MARIE AD VSUM SARUM,' PRINTED BY KERVER FOR JEAN RICHARD

Old Testament types, separated by a pillar, in the lower. These cuts, like Vérard's chief sets, have

inscribed on them the name of the Hour to which they were appropriated, that prefixed to the Penitential Psalms (spirited pictures of David and Goliath), bearing the words *Salmus David.* This set of cuts was used again in another De Marnef edition, for the use of Troyes, finished 13th August 1493. They next occur in a *Horae* printed by Gering and Rembolt in 1494; Hopyl's English *Festial*, printed in 1495, has the *De Cruce* cut, and the set is found again in an undated Dutch *Horae*, printed in his types for Willem Houtmaert of Antwerp (C. 41. b. 13). In the 1497 Sarum *Horae* (no month), printed by Kerver 'pro iohanne ricardo mercatore librario rothomagi commorante,' we find the cut of the Vision of S. Gregory; in the same publisher's edition of 20th December 1497, printed for him by Jehan Philippe, we have no less than eight of this old set, viz. those for Prime, Terce, Nones, Vespers, Compline, *De Cruce*, *De Sancto Spiritu*, and the *Salmus David*, and in the edition of 28th October 1498, he still retains the *De Cruce* and the *S. Gregory.* Apparently the Paris publishers regarded this as a 'job' set!

THIELMAN KERVER'S EARLY 'HORAE,' 1497, ETC.

It is the more remarkable to find Kerver using the old De Marnef cuts late in 1497, since on 15th July of that year he had published a charming little *Heures a lusage de Rome*, printed for him by J. Philippe, in which the best engravers of the day freely imitated Pigouchet's second set of cuts on a smaller scale (Brit. Mus. C. 30. c. 4), adding two unusual subjects, the Anointing of David, and Devils scourging a naked man or soul. The picture of the Trinity also is rather unusual, a book being

held between the Father and the Son. Criblée work is confined to the borders and used only sparingly in them, the side-pieces of the Creation and of the Last Judgment (shown in fig. 15, taken from the Sarum *Horae* of 1497) being the chief instances of it.

FIG. 16.—FROM 'HEURES A LUSAIGE DE ROME,' PRINTED BY KERVER FOR GILLES REMAKE, 17TH NOV. S.A.

The smallness of these pictures made them unsuitable for the larger *Horae*, and by 28th October 1498, we find Kerver mixing with them a similar set of rather larger size, of which an example is given from an edition of 17th November in an

unstated year, an irritating method of dating of which Kerver was fond. In an edition for the use of Paris, finished 9th April 1499, the smaller and larger cuts are still used in conjunction, and an edition of 20th June 1500 is the earliest which I have seen in which only the larger cuts are used.

OTHER EDITIONS

Some other editions have already been mentioned incidentally. In that of Laurens Philippe, 10th July 1493 (Brit. Mus. C. 41. c. 2), some of Vérard's early borders reappear, with very poor cuts, which I have not seen elsewhere, though I should not be surprised if they turned up in an early Psalter. In the Hours printed by Jean Poitevin on 15th May 1498 (for M. E. Jehannot), we find five cuts from Vérard's *Grandes Heures*, in that of 2nd July of the same year (Mazarine, 980) one less, the rest of the pictures being closely copied from Pigouchet's set (Bib. Nat. Vélins, 2863). By 15th October the copies were complete, and Poitevin's edition of that date is quite homogeneous. Vérard himself, in his edition of 10th August 1498, (Bodl. Douce 131[2]) copied Pigouchet, and in successive editions copied more and more. Whence he obtained the large border-pieces shown in fig. 17 I have not been able to discover, and information on this and many other points will be heartily welcome.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

FIG. 17.—FROM AN UNDATED 'HORAE AD VSUM SARUM,' PRINTED FOR VÉRARD (AFTER 1500)

ADDENDA

THE BOOKSELLERS AT THE SIGN OF THE TRINITY.—The discovery by Mr. Robert Proctor in the library of the British Museum, of an almost complete copy of the *Formalitates* of Antonius Sirectus, enables the following additions to be made to the description in vol. i. p. 112.

19. Sirectus. Formalitates. 4to. (c. 1513.)

Collation A-D⁴ E⁶; 22 leaves.

Title begins ¶ Formalitates Antonii sirecti summi ac precla-| ri Parisieñ. theologi de mente Ioannis duns | Scoti [etc. as at p. 112]. *Colophon on the verso of leaf* 22 ¶ Ex-pliciunt formalitates moderniones de mẽ- | te doctoris subtilis Ioānis Scoti. Impresse Lō | doniis per me wynādū de worde sub signo Solis | cōmorātē ī vico āglice nūcupato (the flete strete).

*** A copy wanting only the lower part of the title-page was identified in the British Museum Library by Mr. R. Proctor.

E. GORDON DUFF.

EARLY REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PRINTING-PRESS.—Two notes may here be added to the article which appeared in *Bibliographica*, vol. i. p. 223, and to the Addenda at p. 499 in the same volume.

3* 1518 (see Addenda, p. 500). This may be carried back to 1514, and so should be No. 2*; for it is found in *Fratris Baptiste Mantuani Carmelite Carmen Bucolicum cum argumentis . . . . et adnotamentis*, printed at

Deventer *opera atque impensa Theodorici de Borne Anno M.D. xiiii. Decimo Kalendas Septemb.*

21* 1573. Mr. R. C. Christie has been good enough to point out to me that an engraving of a printing-press may be found in the 1573 edition of Antoine Du Verdier's *Prosopographie*, printed at Lyons by Antoine Gryphius, at p. 469. It is clearly based on No. 5 (the Ascensian press of 1520), but may perhaps also represent the Lyons office, as it is introduced into a short notice of 'Iean Gutembergius,' at once followed by eulogy of Sebastian Gryphius, who is described as having perfected the art and as deserving of praise second only to that bestowed on the inventor. The similarities are, the shape of the press, the attitude of the puller, the four instruments hung up, the table bearing paper printed and unprinted, and the two stout pillars reaching to the ceiling. But, in other details, there is considerable difference. The shape is oval, and only $2\frac{7}{8}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the legend is ARS TYPO | GRAPHICA: the engraving is reversed: there are *two* figures on the compositor's side, the date is gone, and the character of the faces is different.

FALCONER MADAN.

DEDICATIONS TO ENGLISHMEN BY FOREIGN AUTHORS. — HENRY VIII. —To him Martin de Brion, a Parisian, inscribes *Tres ample description de toute la Terre Saincte*, preserved in Royal MS. 20 A. iv., beautifully written on the finest vellum, and bound in crimson velvet, richly embroidered with the arms of England and initials H.H.

In the dedication, written in gold letters on a red ground, Brion says that his desire to do something before his death for the king has led him to undertake this description, knowing that, among the thousand sciences to which the king's noble heart is devoted, cosmography has a special charm for him. Truly that king is worthy to be the king of the world who seeks to know everything that is contained in it, and worthy to possess that land for which his ancestors so greatly toiled. He trembles at coming before the eyes of the king's more than human judgment, but believes that the kindness which has made numbers of others who have similarly trembled return well satisfied, will not do less for him. Brion concludes with these six lines of doggrel :—

'Au dict Roy.
'Ce mien labeur d'humble cueur procedant
(Roy en vertu tous Princes excedant)
Se vient monstrer audevant de voz yeaulx.
C'est grant erreur dont il n'est beaucoup myeulx,
Mais iay espoir (et si ne luys deceu)
Q'humainement sera de vous receu.'

HENRY VIII.—Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica* has a dedication dated at London, August, 1530, in which Henry is described as one who in talents and learning excels not only all living princes, but all also of ancient times.

HENRY VIII.—The commentaries of Ant. Musa Brasavolus, an Italian physician, on Hippocrates and Galen, printed at Basle in 1541. The dedication is in a strain of the most extravagant laudation. No one can be compared to Henry in learning and ability in every branch of knowledge, including poetry and music; he excels also in virtue and piety; he shines amongst mortals as the sun amongst

the stars. And the country which he rules is extolled by the writer in like manner.

HENRY VIII.—Royal MS. 13 B. xx. contains a narrative of the siege of St. Dizier in 1544 by the army of the Emperor Charles v., written by Anth. de Musica of Antwerp, who was commissary of the forces, and who dedicates it to Henry, writing 'ex aula Cæsarea, ult. Oct. 1544.' If encouraged, he says, he will venture subsequently to put out some other things deserving to be known, under the shelter of the king's glorious name. The narrative is printed in vol. i. of Menckenius's *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, 1728, coll. 1289-1314, from a copy made by Joh. Will. Janus, a professor of Wittenberg. The binding bears the royal arms, with these inscriptions; on one side, 'Vero Defensori Fidei errorumque profligatori optimo,' and on the other, 'Maximo Henrico Octavo Regi Anglorum, Franc. Hibernieque, P.M. P.P. D.G.' [Principi Maximo, Patri Patriæ, Dei Gratia?]

EDWARD VI. — An alphabetical list of places mentioned in Trogus Pompeius, which forms Royal MS. 15 C. i., was sent as a new-year's gift to Edward, Prince of Wales, in $154\frac{6}{7}$, when nine years of age, by Peter John Olivarius of Valencia, writing 'ex museo nostro Londinensi.' At the same time, Olivarius sends some notes on Justinus to the king, his father. He has understood that the Prince's excellent tutors (by whose diligent care he has profited beyond every one of his own age) are about to begin with him the study of Justinus, and of Cicero's letters, and he thinks that a description of places mentioned in those books will be of the greatest use. He trusts that the Prince will receive this gift with the same kindness with which he received

the writer himself in the last summer. The leather cover of the book is stamped with the Prince's feathers and initials E. P.

Olivarius was a scholar who edited Pomponius Mela, etc., lectured on the Greek language and philosophy at Alcala and Paris, and had travelled for three years in England, Holland, and Germany.

EDWARD VI.—To him Joh. Æpinus, *pastor primarius* at Hamburgh, inscribes, with a controversial epistle of thirty-four pages, his *Liber de Purgatorio*, etc., printed in 1548. He enlarges on the title of Defender of the Faith, and mentions his embassy from Hamburgh to Henry VIII., which he speaks of as having taken place twelve years before, whereas it was in 1534.

EDWARD VI.—Sebastian Castalio dedicates (in seven folio pages) at Basle, in Feb. 1551, his Latin translation of the Bible to Edward for three reasons: i. because his kingdom is the asylum of those who are persecuted for the Bible's sake; ii. because he had intrusted the task of such a translation to certain learned men, but the death of one had stopped the work[1]; iii. because of his eminent knowledge of the Latin language. In the same year, 1551, eight folio pages of a dedication to Edward are prefixed by Peter Martyr to his commentary on 1 Corinth., embodying the substance of his professional lectures at Oxford, which he says he was especially urged to publish by Sir John Cheke and Dr. Cox, the Dean of Christ Church.

JAMES BEATOUN ('Betoun'), Archbishop of Glasgow.—'*Le Theatre du monde ou il est faict un ample discours des miseres humaines*,' by a Breton

[1] There does not appear to be any mention of this proposed Latin version in the English records of the time. Who was the learned man whose death hindered its execution?

writer, Pierre Boaystuan [often Boistuan], surnamed Launay, 8°, Par., 1559. The book is a translation by the author from his own Latin original. The virtues and learning of Beatoun, his mastery of fortune, the merits of his services to Scotland and France, of which all Europe has heard, would make a 'Theatre of honour and triumph,' a more suitable book for presentation to him; but the author hopes erelong to issue, under the protection of his favour and divine virtues, another and a better book in another language. [Of his many later works there does not appear, however, to be one in any other language than French.]

QUEEN ELIZABETH.—In 1562 Cælius Secundus Curio (Professor of Rhetoric at Basle) dedicates to her, as to 'Ecclesiæ Christianæ veræ patronæ,' his edition of the writings of Olympia Fulvia Morata, and commemorates in the usual style of panegyric her unheard-of clemency and her incredible and altogether divine wisdom, and, with reference to the Hebrew derivation of her name, says that the English have learned that by her means 'the habitation of God' is among them. He refers to his having mentioned her in his supplement to Sabellicus (published in 1560), and adds that he had dedicated, and sent, to Edward VI. his commentary on the Philippics of Cicero (published in 1551), and that his son Horace, whose premature death he deplores, had also inscribed to Edward his juvenile writings (viz. *De amplitudine misericordiæ die oratio*, etc., published in 1550). If she is not aware of these facts [Sir] Anthony Cooke and [Sir Thomas] Wroth can attest them to her.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.—Petruccio Ubaldino's *Vite delle donne illustri del regno d'Inghilterra è del*

regno di Scotia, Lond. 1591. He presents this book to her as a new-year's gift, after twenty-seven years spent in her service. To Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Robert Dudley, and Sir Francis Walsingham, Ubaldino dedicates his *Descrittione del regno di Scotia*, written while he was employed by Edward VI. in Scotland, but not printed until the year 1588, at Antwerp.

RICHARD WENTWORTH. — In the first of my preceding articles I have mentioned Wentworth's name (p. 337) in connection with a dedication by Nic. Tartalea *alias* Tartaglia, to Henry VIII. But to Wentworth himself, as an intimate friend and 'compatri' (fellow-godfather?), Tartalea inscribes his *Archimedis Opera*, printed at Venice in 1543.

JOHN WHITGIFT, Archbishop of Canterbury.— Jo. Drusius dedicates to him his edition of the book of Ecclesiasticus, in *Greek and Latin*, printed at Franeker in 1596, because the work was undertaken at his suggestion. The editor shows his good taste and judgment in abstaining from the fulsome adulation which had been such a characteristic of the dedications of the time.

A small anonymous book, printed at Oppenheim in 1611, in defence of the *Apologia* of James I., and entitled *Becano-baculus-Salcolbrigiensis*, is dedicated to Prince Henry of Wales; but internal evidence shows that, though printed abroad, it was written by an Englishman.

In conclusion, I must not omit the dedication to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, printed by the Bishop of Peterborough in the *English Historical Review* for January 1895, with which I was previously unacquainted. W. D. MACRAY.

ENGLISH PROVINCIAL PRESSES. — VIII. — IPSWICH, 1547-48. — Another early Ipswich book, hitherto known only from Anthony Scoloker's London issue of it, has now come to light. The fortunate possessor of this rarity is the Rev. W. E. Layton, M.A., of Saffron Walden, by whom the following title is supplied.

5. A goodly dysputatyon betwene a Christen Shomaker and a Popysshe Parson wyth two other parsones more, done within the famous citie of Norenbourghe. Translated oute of the Germayne tongue into Englyshe. Imprinted at Ippeswich by Anthony Scoloker. Dwelling in S. Nycholas Parryshe . Anno . 1548. Cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

XI.—NORWICH, 1567-81

On the 16th of May (1568), Archbishop Parker addressed a letter to the Bishop of Norwich (John Parkehurst) calling for certain particulars about the foreign refugees in the city and diocese of Norwich. Inquiries were instituted, and in the returns[1] collected occur the names of Anthony de la Solemne and another printer, as well as of four booksellers.

'Anthonius de la Solemme tipographus cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.'

'Anthonius Rabat bibliopola cum vxore et infantulo in Anglia nato ex Flandria huc venit Anno Dni. 1567.'

'Cornelius Van Hille bibliopola cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.'

'Petrus Jass bibliopola cum vxore et puero hic nat. et ancilla ex Zelandia huc venit 1562.'

'Joannes Paetz bibliopola cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Holandia huc venit Anno 1567.'

'Albertus Christiani tipographus ex Hollandia venit huc Anno 1567.'

[1] *The Dutch Refugees in Norwich.* By Walter Rye (*Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, vol. iii. part 1).

As regards Albertus Christiani we know nothing of him as a master-printer; but, perhaps, he found employment under Solemne. The date of the latter's arrival with his wife and two sons clears from our Norwich list the 1566 book entitled *Der Siecken troost*, although Solemne may have printed it before his flight into this country.

An interesting monograph by Mr. W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A., on No. 9 in our Norwich list, has been printed in vol. li. of the *Archæologia*. It is entitled *Bibliographiy of 'Chronic Historie der Nederlandtscher Oorlogen, etc.'* The authorship is attributed to Philip de Marnix de St. Aldegonde, and five different editions are enumerated in Dutch, French, and English.

Mr. Moens, whose careful and industrious research is beyond praise, elaborates Blomefield's brief reference to our Norwich printer Solemne, and also gives further particulars relating to him and his family. 'Anthonius de Solen, prynter non appren(ticius) admiss's est ciuis et ciuis sub condic'one that he shall not occupye eny trade of marchandise eyther from the parts beyonde the seaes or from London but only his arte of prynting and selling of Renysh wyne and for this he haue agreid to paye xls.'[1] 'His name is found,' says Mr. Moens, 'in the lay subsidies for Norwich, 23 Elizabeth, 7th June, 1581 (membrane 7 dorso), being returned in St. John's parish in Wymer Ward, assessed on 8l. goods, tax 26s. 8d. In the same subsidy for the parish of St. Martin at the Oak, in the ward beyond the water, is the name of Philip Solen, probably a son, assessed for goods 20s., tax 3s. 4d. He and his family were members of the Dutch Church of that city, the early registers of which are unfor-

[1] *Corporation Records*, December 11, 1570.

tunately missing. In the subsidies for 1598 and later the name does not appear.'

W. H. ALLNUTT.

NOTES ON EARLY MUSIC PRINTING.—Since the appearance in Part IX. of *Bibliographica* of the sketch of the early history of Musical Typography, bearing the above title, Dr. Hugo Riemann of Leipzig has published (November, 1896) a work on the subject which in completeness of detail and scientific treatment far excels anything that has hitherto been written on this branch of bibliography. Dr. Riemann's work unfortunately appears in the form of an appendix to a *Festschrift* for the jubilee of the firm of Messrs. Roeder, the well-known music printers of Leipzig, but the essay is so valuable that it is to be hoped the learned author will reprint it in a more accessible form. The generous appreciation accorded to the little article in *Bibliographica* is very gratifying, and Dr. Riemann is heartily to be congratulated on the discovery of many new facts which are of great importance. Chief among these must be mentioned the discovery of the Würzburg Missal, printed in 1481 by Jeorius Ryser, a facsimile page of which is given. From this it seems incontestable that the credit of being the first printer who used Gothic moveable types for printing plain-chant must be accorded to this hitherto obscure printer. The subject is fully gone into by Dr. Riemann, who found the volume in the University Library of Würzburg.

ADDENDA

In one point a misunderstanding of a passage in the article in *Bibliographica* has led the author into making a criticism which is erroneous. The undated Sarum Missal mentioned on p. 109, as having been printed either by Wenssler and Kilchen, or by some printer who used his types, is an entirely different work to the Sarum Processionale described in Mr. Weale's *Catalogue of the Music Inventions Exhibition*. A copy of the former is to be found in the British Museum Library, while the latter is in the possession of Mr. Jenkinson of Cambridge. The two books have nothing in common in their musical notation, and to have attributed the latter to the Basel printers would have been a blunder deserving greater censure than Dr. Riemann bestows. In a note on p. 53 of his essay, Dr. Riemann combats the view that in Wenssler and Kilchen's liturgical books the notes were printed first and the lines added later, supporting his opinion that the contrary was the case by the result of practical experiments. Although *primâ facie* the plan of printing the notes first seems improbable, the appearance of the Basel printers' books certainly seems to point to their having used this method, though, on the face of what Dr. Riemann states as to the way in which the red ink absorbs the black, his view is probably correct. The attention of bibliographers interested in the subject cannot too strongly be drawn to this admirable essay, which is rendered still more valuable by the numerous excellent facsimiles with which it is illustrated.

It has been pointed out that the music represented in the plate from Gaforius's *Practica Musicae* (reproduced on p. 103) is not a composition in parts but a piece of unisonous plain-song. This is

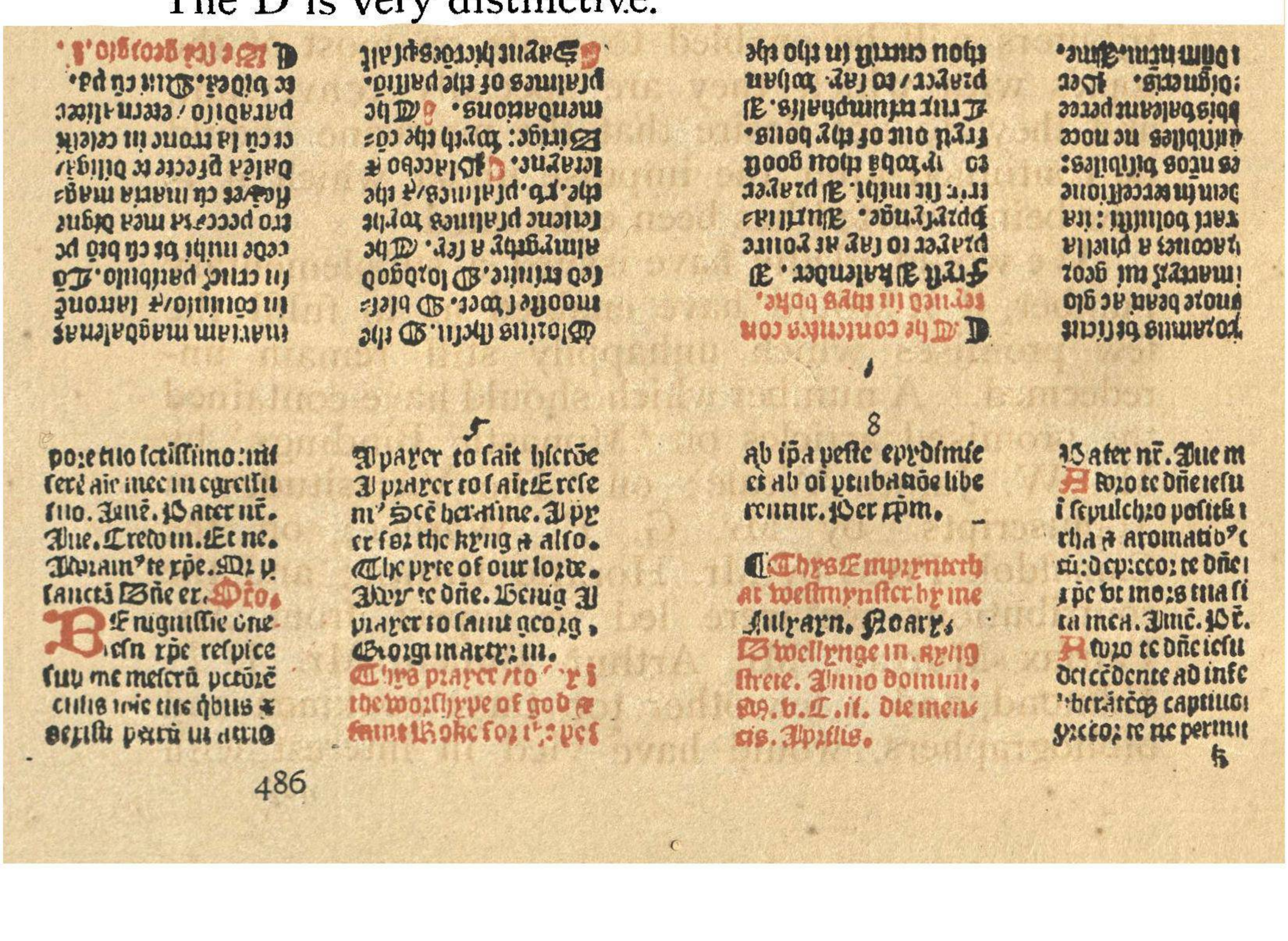
undoubtedly the case, but the illustration equally well represents the method adopted at the period for singing polyphonic compositions from a single book. A fine example of the kind is to be found in a MS. volume of Motets in the Library of Eton College, written in England early in the sixteenth century, and the same method was used in printing the great edition of Orlando di Lasso's works issued at Munich by Adam Berg. W. B. SQUIRE.

LITTLE BOOKS.—On Mr. and Mrs. Elton's article on this subject (vol. iii. p. 208) allusion is made to Herbert's mention of 'a little book of devotions,' measuring no more than an inch by an inch and a half, which Julian Notary finished printing on April 2nd, 1500. In his portfolio of facsimiles illustrating *Early English Printing*, Mr. Gordon Duff wrote of this little book as likely, from its size, to contain a third variety of type in addition to the two which occur in Notary's other fifteenth-century books. 'But,' he added, 'we have no means of knowing. The fragment which Herbert described was a half-sheet containing sixteen pages on each side, and the signatures I and K, and belonged at that time to Sir John Fenn, but the most careful search has failed to discover its whereabouts at the present time.' Since then, as most readers of *Bibliographica* will know, Sir John Fenn's scrap-book has turned up at Sotheby's, where it was the object of an extremely spirited contest between Mr. Quaritch and Mr. Tregaskis. By the kindness of Mr. Quaritch, who carried off the

victory, the portion of the quarter-sheet containing the colophon is here given in facsimile, and will serve not only as an additional illustration to the article by Mr. and Mrs. Elton, but also as a supplement to Mr. Duff's book, filling up the only *lacuna* which has so far been discovered in it. Mr. Duff, who drew our attention to the fragment being made available by the recovery of the Fenn album, writes: 'The *Horae* was a 64°, and, unfortunately, the only copy like it was destroyed in the fire at the Offor Sale.

2733. Horae ad usum Sarum. Forma minima. Very imperfect, but has end with imprint. Morocco, 64mo. *Paris*, 1499.

'Unfortunately the cataloguer did not think it worth while to give the imprint of which he mentions the existence! The person most likely to have got the type for Notary (if it was not cut in England, and it does not look English) was Barbier. The D is very distinctive.'



EPILOGUE

BIBLIOGRAPHICA came into the world without a preface, and it is, perhaps, all the more permissible that its departure should be signalised by an Epilogue. Not much requires to be said, but we shall not be accused of unreasonable pride if we desire to place on record the fact that our death at this early age is not due to any premature decay, but was an essential feature of our original plan.

In the preliminary prospectus it was said: 'a somewhat novel departure has been taken in determining to publish the magazine for only three years, but the publishers have considered that in the course of twelve quarterly numbers, the contributors will be enabled to write on most of the topics with which they are specially conversant, and they do not desire that the magazine should be continued after the impulse under which it is now being started has been exhausted.'

We would gladly have issued a supplementary number, if it would have enabled us to fulfil the few promises which unhappily still remain unredeemed. A number which should have contained the promised articles on 'Monastic Bindings' by Mr. W. James Weale; on 'The Vicissitudes of Manuscripts' by Mr. G. F. Warner; on the Camaldoli Press by Mr. Horatio Brown; and the contributions we were led to expect from Mr. Fairfax Murray, Mr. Arthur Bullen, Mr. J. P. Edmond, and a few other too busy bookmen and bibliographers, would have vied in interest with

the best of those which we have been able to produce. But the busy man will remain busy to the end of the chapter, and, though we regret profoundly that we have not received the help from these writers for which we had hoped, we can point to too long a list of contributors who are, in the fullest sense, the 'writers of authority' whose collaboration was promised, to be in any fear that our readers may think they have been ill-treated.

But bibliography, though in a sense an inexhaustible subject, is not one which can be written on for ever without losing its interest, and now that our brief span of life has drawn to a close, we remain fully satisfied with the wisdom of our first resolution. The Bibliographical Society, from whose ranks so many of our writers have been drawn, remains in possession of the field, and, if any of the defaulting contributors whom we have named are seized with a tardy repentance, we are quite sure that their papers will find a ready welcome in its Transactions and Monographs. For ourselves we remember that those whom the gods love die young, and we are not sorry to take our departure before becoming conscious of any falling off from our early vigour.

A magazine, which draws both its contributors and its readers from so limited a circle, must naturally have a very different history from those which deal with more popular subjects. We record, as a probably unique fact in periodical literature, that, with only a single exception, every paper that we have printed was commissioned beforehand, and that, without any exception whatever, every commissioned paper that has been sent to us, we have been glad and pleased to print. It may almost be said, indeed, that, save for the little

dovetailing involved by the custom that every number of a magazine should possess the same number of pages, if it had not been for the illustrations *Bibliographica* would have edited itself. Illustrations are always a source of trouble, and as each volume of *Bibliographica* has contained more than its predecessor, our difficulties in that respect have gone on increasing. That they have been surmounted is due to the genuine interest taken in their work by Mr. Griggs and Mr. Hyatt, who between them are responsible for the vast majority, and we are as grateful to them as to our printers, Messrs. Constable of Edinburgh, for their constant readiness to help.

The relations between editor and contributors have been so uniformly cordial that it would have been a peculiar pleasure to have been able at the end of our three years' existence to record that our little band of writers remained intact. Until a few weeks ago, it seemed probable that this pleasure would not be denied us. In losing Mr. William Morris, we have lost one whose life was given to many things much better than bibliography, but his interest in our subject, both as a collector and a student, remained keen to the end, and in the splendid series of books issued from his Kelmscott Press, crowned, as they were, by the appearance of the great Chaucer a few months before his death, he did much to advance one of the causes which every true bibliographer has at heart, the improvement of the books of our own day. To say aught of him as a man would here be out of place, but to know him even a little was to love him, and those who knew him most loved him best.

Two facts, which have to do with the decoration of the magazine, remain to be placed on record.

The initial letters and tailpieces;which have added so much to the beauty of our pages, were especially designed for *Bibliographica* by Mr. Laurence Housman, who took his inspiration from the initials in the *Hypnerotomachia*, and may fairly be said to have bettered his instruction.

For the border, which has decorated our covers, we must confess to a less creditable origin. There is no maxim in which we more firmly believe, than that which tells us that, though we may reproduce old work for the guidance of the craftsman of our own day, each generation should invent its own designs. But a copy of the edition of Petrarch's *De Viris Illustribus*, printed at Polliano, four miles from Verona, in 1476, came in our way, when the question of a design for the wrapper was engaging our attention, and the temptation was too strong. The design which we thus conveyed is one of two which recur over and over again in the *De Viris Illustribus*, as frames for pictures of the illustrious personages, to be filled in by hand. In the Cracherode copy at the British Museum, the frames have been filled in by an artist of no very considerable skill. But one of his pictures is somewhat more successful than the rest and, by way of penance for our misdoing, we here reproduce it in black and white.

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